

Afghanistan

All Groups and Years:

Jam'iyyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan aka Jamaat Islami (1990-1996, and 1979-2004 in PGM)

Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan - Khalis faction (1990-1991)

Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (1990-2015)

Hizb-i Wahdat (1990-1995, 2001-2003 as PGM)

Military faction (forces of Shahnawaz Tanay) (1990-1990)

Junbish-i Milli-yi Islami (1993-1995, 1989-2007 as PGM)

Taleban aka Taliban (1995-2015)

UIFSA (1996-2001) aka Northern Alliance Source

Al-Fatah (2009-2009)

Al-Qaida (2002-2006)

Haqqani Network (2006-2015)

Khorasan Chapter of the Islamic State (2015-2015)

Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (2011-2013)

Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) (2013-2014)

Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) (2008-2015)

Ismaili militia (1988-1996)

Ittehad Islami (1992-2004)

Southern tribal militia (2006-2007)

Sherzai (2001-2007)

Jam'iyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan

Rivalry #1: Taliban

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #2: Hizb-e-Wahdat

Violence

Rivalry# 3: Junbish-i Milli-yi Islami

Violence

Hizb-i Wahdat

Rivalry #1: Taliban

Denouncement

Violence

Taleban, Taliban

Rivalry #1: UIFSA Northern Alliance

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Khorasan Chapter of the Islamic State

Rivalry #1: Tehrik (TTP)

Threat

Khorasan Chapter of the Islamic State

Rivalry #1: Taliban

Threat

Jam'iyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (1979-2004)

General Group Notes: Northern Alliance member, so any of its rivalries apply. Also noteworthy, there was internal fighting between members of the Northern Alliance.

Rivalry #1: Taliban (1995-2015)

Denouncement (1995, 1996, 1998)

Notes: Taliban—Jam 'iyat-i Islami-yi (1995, 1996, 1998)

- (1995) The Taliban religious movement fighters reiterated they still intend to use military force to remove Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani from power. "We do not recognise Rabbani (administration) as a government. They're only a gang, a group of tyrants," said a Taliban military affairs spokesman.¹
- (1996) The Taliban militia took advantage of Friday prayers in Kabul mosques to denounce the Afghan alliance formed to combat it, vowing it would never negotiate.²
- (1996) The Taliban militia roundly dismissed a reported military alliance between the government it ousted from Kabul two weeks ago and their main northern rival. Acting Information and Culture Minister Amir Khan Muttaqi said "Any new alliance against the Taliban will not change our stance because we know that all our victories and successes have been because of Allah (God) who is the strongest force, so we are not afraid of any new alliance against us."³
- (1998) The Afghan nation has lost another opportunity for peace as the intra-Afghan peace talks between the two warring factions broke down here Sunday, said Rasool Talib, spokesman for the Northern Alliance delegation. "I am announcing with heavy hurt that the Afghan nation has lost another opportunity for peace because of the negative attitude of the Taliban."⁴

Threat (1995, 2001)

Notes: Symmetric (1995, 2001)

¹ (August 6, 1995). "Religious fighters renew pledge to topple Rabbani government." *Agence France Presse*.

² (November 1, 1996). "Taliban bomb ex-government forces as front stays calm." *Agence France Presse*.

³ (October 12, 1996). "Taliban downplay northern alliance." *Agence France Presse*.

⁴ (May 3, 1998). "Opposition blames Taliban for Afghan talks breakdown (recasts with quotes from northern alliance)." *Xinhua News Agency*.

- (1995) Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani's troops were poised for an imminent offensive against the armed Taliban religious movement in the western Farah province, officials said. "We are going to attack the Taliban sometime in the next few days," vowed a pro-Rabbani commander.⁵
- (1995) The Taliban religious movement fighters reiterated they still intend to use military force to remove Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani from power. "We do not recognise Rabbani (administration) as a government. They're only a gang, a group of tyrants," said Taliban military affairs spokesman Abdul Razoq.⁶
- (2001) The Northern Alliance told the Taliban and their non-Afghan allies in the city of Kunduz they had three days to surrender or else. The alliance has the city under siege.⁷
- (2001) The Northern Alliance gave the Taliban 48 hours to give up or be attacked. Alliance officials are predicting a slaughter...The foreigners -- who make up one-third of the Taliban forces in Kunduz -- are vowing not only to fight to the death but to kill any comrade whose resolve seems to weaken...Shajoudin, a Northern Alliance commander, said today that the Taliban fighters in Kunduz will all be killed. They have nowhere they can go. He said his forces were waiting only for the order to attack Taliban forces on the other side of the bridge and move on Kunduz.⁸

Violence (1995-2002)

Notes: Symmetric (1995-2002)

- (1995) The Taliban was involved in a battle with Jamiat-i-Islami supporting President Rabbani over the weekend.⁹
- (1995) Masood, who from the hills overlooking Kabul watched the attacks launched by Taliban Islamic militants and pro-Iranian Hezbi-i-Wahdat troops on the capital, suddenly decided to strike back. Forces loyal to Masood and Rabbani, the Jamiat-i-Islami, occupy

⁵ (April 14, 1995). "Rabbani forces plan decisive battle against Taliban in west." *Agence France Presse*.

⁶ (August 6, 1995). "Religious fighters renew pledge to topple Rabbani government." *Agence France Presse*.

⁷ (November 21, 2001). "Northern Alliance Gives Taliban In Kunduz Three Days To Surrender.." *The Bulletin's Frontrunner*.

⁸ (November 17, 2001). "As Its Grip Slips, Taliban Hangs Tight in Stronghold; Foreign Fighters in Kunduz Vow to Battle to the Last Man." *The Washington Post*.

⁹ (March 14, 1995). "Afghan civil war enters new phase." *The Daily Yomiuri*.

almost the entire capital and their opponents have been driven far south.¹⁰

- (1996) Sporadic clashes continued on the two strategic fronts north of Kabul, where anti-Taliban troops led by Ahmed Shah Masood launched a blistering attack on two hills held by the Taliban. Locals said the battle between the Islamic militia and the anti-Taliban alliance, which includes the ousted Kabul government and northern Afghan warlord General Abdul Rashid Dostam, saw the Taliban suffer heavy casualties.”¹¹
- (1996) Rabbani and Massoud (Jamiat-e-Islami) fled north, and are now attempting to make their way back towards the capital. Dostom's forces joined with those of the Mukhaidin, and are fighting the Taliban for control over provinces in the northwest.¹²
- (1997) Mr. Rauf said he was not daunted by the artillery fire echoing beyond the pass, where the forces of a more moderate Afghan leader, Ahmed Shah Massoud, have been probing Taliban defenses.¹³
- (1997) “He defected to the taliban side, helping the hard-line islamic militia sweep across key northern provinces and take mazar-e-sharif. But he then turned on his new allies after disagreements surfaced over power-sharing and forced the taliban out of the city. The alliance factions now defending mazar-e-sharif are hezb-e-wadhat, harakat-e-islami, and former president burhanuddin rabbani's jamiat-e-islami.”¹⁴
- (1998) Taliban troops had intensified their assault on the Panjshir Valley stronghold of General Ahmed Shah Massoud's ethnic Tajik forces.¹⁵
- (1998) Taliban fighters captured a key border town cutting off their opponents' only supply route and moving closer to their goal of uniting Afghanistan under their rule.¹⁶
- (1998) Dostam aligned himself with Rabbani in the Northern Alliance after the Taliban took power in Kabul. Now, the Taliban seem likely to be faced with a continuing resistance from the two remaining opposition forces, the Hezbe-i-Wahdat of Abdul

¹⁰ (March 13, 1995). “Masood takes control of Kabul.” *Agence France Presse*.

¹¹ (November 1, 1996). “Taliban bomb ex-government forces as front stays calm.” *Agence France Presse*.

¹² (December 19, 1996). “Afghanistan-Population: Humanitarian Aid Secured.” *IPS-International Press Service*.

¹³ (August 23, 1997). “In a Stalemate, Afghan Foes Reload.” *The New York Times*.

¹⁴ (September 10, 1997). “Taliban Reportedly Enter Opposition Stronghold.” *Xinhua News Agency*.

¹⁵ (1998). *Facts on File*.

¹⁶ (1998). *Five Star Lift*.

Khalili and the Jamaat-Islami in the Panjshir Valley.”¹⁷

- (1998) Administration representatives convinced the anti-Taliban northern alliance not to go on the offensive against a then-weakened and vulnerable Taliban. Within a few months of the announcement of a U.S.-backed ULIMA process, the Taliban, freshly supplied by the ISI from Pakistan and flush with drug money, went on a major offensive and destroyed the Northern Alliance.¹⁸
- (1999) With the return of warm weather we see prospects for another round of conflict between the Taliban and the Northern Alliance forces led by Commander Ahmad Shah Masood.¹⁹
- (1999) Of the 6,000-8,000 Pakistani militants who joined the Taliban for their offensive against the Northern Alliance, the majority were not Pushtuns but Punjabis.²⁰ [SEP]
- (1999) Afghanistan's ruling Taliban Islamic militia repulsed an attack by its northern-based opposition, killing at least 20 rebels. The opposition fighters took a heavy beating when they attacked the Taliban positions near Baghram's military-base in northern Parwan province, Ahsanullah.²¹
- (2000) The bomb exploded outside the Khorasan Hotel in Kabul. No one took responsibility, but the ruling Taliban blamed the northern-based opposition, led by ousted president Burhanuddin Rabbani and his former defense chief Ahmed Shah Massood.²²
- (2000) Afghanistan's opposition forces captured a strategic mountain pass in overnight fighting, killing at least 42 soldiers of the ruling Taliban Islamic militia.²³
- (2001) Afghan opposition forces briefly captured a key district in northeastern Takhar province amid fierce fighting involving Taliban jet bombers and heavy artillery. Troops

¹⁷ (August 16, 1998). *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*.

¹⁸ (April 14, 1999). “Prepared Statement By Karl F. Inderfurth Assistant Secretary South Asian Affairs Before The Senate Foreign Relations Committee Near Eastern And South Asian Affairs Subcommittee Subject - Afghanistan At A Crossroads.” *Federal News Service*.

¹⁹ (April 14, 1999). “Prepared Statement By Karl F. Inderfurth Assistant Secretary South Asian Affairs Before The Senate Foreign Relations Committee Near Eastern And South Asian Affairs Subcommittee Subject - Afghanistan At A Crossroads.” *Federal News Service*.

²⁰ (1999). *Foreign Affairs*.

²¹ (August 10, 1999). “Taliban repulse opposition attack, reinforce positions.” *Associated Press International*.

²² (December 29, 2000). “Bomb rattles beleaguers Afghan Capital.” *Associated Press International*.

²³ (October 22, 2000). “Afghan Opposition Claims Capturing Mountain Pass.” *Associated Press*.

loyal to anti-Taliban commander Ahmad Shah Masood captured the centre of Chal district in heavy combat overnight but the Taliban were counter-attacking.²⁴

- (2001) The alliance consists of three main groups united in their aim to topple Taliban power in Kabul but, thereafter, could become involved in a vicious struggle for power once their immediate objective has been achieved.²⁵
- (2001) The Northern Alliance forces are on the offensive. Their latest success: the takeover of the country's capital, Kabul. All around the Kabul city park were bodies of men killed by Northern Alliance troops in their advance.²⁶
- (2002) The report identified the three political factions currently active in the north as the Junbish-i Milli-yi Islami, Jamiat-e Islami, and Hizb-i Wahdat...It said that since the fall of the Taliban, each group has targeted the Pashtun community in areas under its control.²⁷

Violence Locations:

- Kabul (1996, 1997, 2000, 2001)
- Mazar-e-sharif (1997)
- Hayratan (1998)
- Panjshir Valley (1998)
- Parwan province (1999)
- Takhar province (2001)

Casualties:

- 20 (1999)
- 42 (2000)

²⁴ (August 21, 2001). "Afghan rivals battle for control of key district." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁵ (September 30, 2001). "Friends In The North." *The Sunday Herald*.

²⁶ (November 14, 2001). "U.S. Concerned Over Power Vacuum; Have Anti-Taliban Forces Moved Too Far Too Soon?; Northern Alliance Takeover Receives Mixed Reaction." *CNN*.

²⁷ (March 3, 2002). "Anti-Pashtun violence widespread in Afghanistan: Rights Group." *Japan Economic Newswire*.

Jam'iyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (1979-2004)

Rivalry #2: Hizb-e-Wahdat (1990-1995; also 2001-2003 as PGM)

Violence (1992-1995)

Notes: Symmetric (1992-1995)

- (1992) Ahmed Shah Masood's forces launched a major attack Thursday to flush out Shiite fighters entrenched in the interior ministry. The confused fighting between Shiites of the Hezb-e-Wahdat faction loyal to interim president Sibgatullah Mojaddedi and Masood's men flared at 5:30 p.m. (1330 GMT), with many feared dead. Thursday's fighting followed similar skirmishes Wednesday between the two groups, in which at least 25 people died according to unofficial estimates.²⁸
- (1992) Heavy street fighting broke out between iran-backed Hizb-i-Wahdat and Jamiat-i-Islami led by Afghan president-designate burhanuddin rabbani in the center of kabul on thursday afternoon.”²⁹
- (1993) The report blamed Hekmatyar's hardline Hezb-e-Islami forces, who control the southern and eastern fringes of the city. An estimated 10,000 people, most of them civilians have died in the past 20 months in and around the city.³⁰
- (1994) The casualty toll in the 19 days of fighting in afghanistan has topped 8,000, the international committee of the red cross (ICRC) said. According to the figure released by ICRC, for the first 17 days of the 19-day conflict between forces of president burhanuddin rabbani and his opponents general rashid dostum and gulbuddin hekmatyar, 8,251 casualties had been treated in red cross-supported hospitals, with a conservative estimate of 610 killed.³¹
- (1994) Along with the former Russian Red Army Scud base, Dashti Barchi was captured from Rabbani's allies, the Shiite Harakat-i-Islami faction, by a coalition force made up of the rival Shiite faction Hezb-i-Wahdat and their Pushtun allies, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Hezb-i-Islami faction. The pro-Rabbani attacking force consists of three factions --

²⁸ (June 5, 1992). “Confused street fighting in Kabul.” *Agence France Presse*.

²⁹ (June 26, 1992). “Street fighting erupts in Kabul.” *Xinhua News Agency*.

³⁰ (December 28, 1993). “Five Killed as Rockets Pound Kabul.” *Associated Press*.

³¹ (January 20, 1994). “Kabul casualty tops 8,000: ICRC.” *Xinhua News Agency*.

regular army units of Rabbani's Jamiat-i-Islami, mujahedeen of Rasool Sayyaf's Ittihad-i-Islami, and fighters from Harakat.³²

- (1995) Rabbani's jets made at least 10 bombing runs on Wahdat positions in an effort to dislodge the defenders. But Rabbani's Jamiat-i-Islami troops had difficulties making a major advance from Dehmazang Square to Darulaman Palace.³³
- (1995) Masood, who from the hills overlooking Kabul watched the attacks launched by Taliban Islamic militants and pro-Iranian Hezbi-i-Wahdat troops on the capital, suddenly decided to strike back... Forces loyal to Masood and Rabbani, who are both ethnic tadjiks and members of the same party, the Jamiat-i-Islami, occupy almost the entire capital and their opponents have been driven far south.³⁴

Violence Location(s):

- Kabul (1992, 1993, 2001)

Casualties:

- 25 (1992)
- 10,000 (1192-1993)
- 610 (1994)
- 8251 (1994)

³² (October 6, 1994). "Rabbani forces on offensive against rivals in southwest Kabul." *Agence France Presse*.

³³ (March 6, 1995). *Agence France Presse*.

³⁴ (March 13, 1995). "Masood takes control of Kabul." *Agence France Presse*.

Jam'iyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (1979-2004)

Rivalry# 3: Junbish-i Milli-yi Islami (1993-1995, 1989-2007 as PGM)

Violence (2003)

Notes: Symmetric (2003)

- (2003) In Balkh the fighting involves men loyal to two fierce rivals, Gen. Abdul Rashid Dostum and Gen. Atta Muhammad, commander of the Jamiat-e-Islamie faction. Clashes between these rival militias have caused some 70 deaths this year in the five northern provinces. At the same time, Junbish troops seized control of a Jamiat base in Fariab Province. At least 8 people were killed and 25 wounded.³⁵
- (2003) Fighting between Uzbek warlord General Abul Rashid Dostam's Junbish and the Jamiat of his rival, Tajik General Atta Mohammad, has claimed dozens of lives this year.... In the latest unrest, two Junbish militiamen were killed in fighting near Mazar-i-Sharif.³⁶

Violence location(s):

- Balkh (2003)
- Mazar-i-Sharif (2003)

Casualties:

- 8 (2003)
- 2 (2003)

³⁵ (November 15, 2003). "For an ancient Afghan town, no end to war, with rival generals now clashing." *The New York Times*.

³⁶ (November 16, 2003). "Warring Afghan factions to start removing heavy weapons: UN." *Agence France Presse*.

Hizb-i Wahdat (1990-1995, 2001-2003 as PGM)

General Group Notes: Alliance with Jamaat and Jumbish, at least temporarily. Lost its leader in 1995; had a lower profile after that.

Rivalry #1: Taliban (1995-2015)

Denouncement (2002)

Notes: Hizb-i Wahdat→Taliban (2002)

- (2002) A person who had seen Daudy valley had counted around 35 to 36 bodies, Khalili's secretary Abdul Satar told AFP. He said Khalili, the leader of the Shia Hezb-e-Wahdat faction of the ethnic Hazaras which controls most of Bamiyan province, was holding talks with the UN Human Rights delegation. He accused the ousted Taliban regime of being responsible for the deaths.³⁷

Violence (1995, 2001)

Notes: Symmetric (1995, 2001)

- (1995) Afghani said the attack was launched as the Taliban fought against the Shia Hezb-i-Wahdat faction in Kabul's outskirts.³⁸
- (1995) Abdul Ali Mazari, leader of Hizb-i-Wahdat was killed by the Taliban religious student militia in March.³⁹
- (2001) In the first week of June, fighters of the Hazara-dominated Hizb-i Wahdat party broke the Taliban hold on the area. But the Taliban then resorted to air raids in which they bombed Nayak, the regional centre, before giving control of the area to one of their commanders, Mullah Dadaullah.⁴⁰
- (2001) Hizb-i Wahdat recaptured Yakaolang, ending a month-long occupation of the district by the Taliban. After retreating, Taliban forces countered with a series of air raids in which their planes reportedly bombed the administrative center of Yakaolang, including the district hospital and an aid agency office.⁴¹

³⁷ (April 7, 2002). "At least 35 bodies found in Afghan mass graves: officials." *Agence France Presse*.

³⁸ (December 29, 1995). "Taliban reject Rabbani's offer of talks to resolve Afghan crisis." *Agence France Presse*.

³⁹ (April 1, 1995). "afghan opposition rejects un peace plan." *Xinhua News Agency*.

⁴⁰ (October 10, 2001). "Taliban terror tactics fuel ethnic hatred - America Strikes." *The Sydney Morning Herald*.

⁴¹ (June 14, 2001). "Rights Group Condemns Taliban." *UPI*.

Violence Location(s):

- Kabul (1995)
- Yakaolang (2001)
- Bamyian (2001)
- Nayak (2001)

Casualties:

- 1 (1995)

Junbish-i Milli-yi Islami (1993-1995, 1989-2007 as PGM)

General Group Notes: Uzbek group led by Dostum. Member of Northern Alliance. Taliban might have formed an agreement with Junbish and others in 1995, but it fell apart.

Rivalry #1: Taliban

Denouncement (1996, 1998)

Notes: Taliban→Junbish-i Mili-yi Islami (1996); Junbish-i Mili-yi Islami→Taliban (1998)

- (1996) The Taliban militia took advantage of Friday prayers in Kabul mosques to denounce the Afghan alliance formed to combat it, vowing it would never negotiate. The defiant sermon came a day after a heavy air and ground battle between the Islamic militia and the alliance north of the capital. Locals say the Taliban suffered heavy casualties in the clashes on hilltops dominating the main road into Kabul.⁴²
- (1998) The Afghan nation has lost another opportunity for peace as the intra-Afghan peace talks between the two warring factions broke down here, said a spokesman for the Northern Alliance delegation, "I am announcing with heavy hurt that the Afghan nation has lost another opportunity for peace because of the negative attitude of the Taliban."⁴³

Threat (1995, 2001)

Notes: Junbish-i Mili-yi Islami→Taliban (1995, 2001)

- (1995) Efforts to bring peace to Afghanistan suffered new setbacks when a rebel commander threatened to partition the country and another dropped support for a U.N. plan to install a new government. Gen. Rasheed Dostum, a powerful rebel commander, issued the threat as a student-led militia called Taliban said it captured two provinces.⁴⁴
- (2001) The Northern Alliance told the Taliban and their non-Afghan allies in the city of Kunduz they had three days to surrender or else.⁴⁵

⁴² (1996). *Agence France Presse*.

⁴³ (1998). *Xinhua News Agency*.

⁴⁴ (February 19, 1995). "Afghan student army captures provinces." *United Press International*.

⁴⁵ (November 21, 2001). "Northern Alliance Gives Taliban In Kunduz Three Days To Surrender." *The Bulletin's Frontrunner*.

- (2001) The Northern Alliance gave the Taliban 48 hours to give up or be attacked, a deadline that some officials said will arrive on Saturday. Shajoudin, a Northern Alliance commander, said today that the Taliban fighters in Kunduz will all be killed.⁴⁶

Violence (1996-1998, 2000-2001, 2005)

Notes: Symmetric (1996-1997, 2000-2001); Taliban→Junbish-i Mili-yi Islami (1998, 2005)

- (1996) The fight for control of Afghanistan continued with Taliban Islamic militia rebels advancing into the northern province of Faryab in attempts to oust troops loyal to warlord Abdul Rashid Dostum. The Taliban deputy information minister said the militia killed nine of Dostum's men and captured 70 others.⁴⁷
- (1996) The Taliban says it lost three soldiers in the fighting. Dostum retaliated with two nights of aerial bombing of Kabul, which slightly damaged properties around the airport and presidential palace, and injured a woman.⁴⁸
- (1997) The family of Afghan warlord Rashid Dostum joined him Thursday in Turkey, where he fled last month after Taliban fighters overran his stronghold.⁴⁹
- (1997) A United Nations team investigating reports from Afghanistan said that more than 2,000 Taliban fighters held as prisoners were killed and has found hundreds of bodies in wells and shallow graves. Abdul Rashid Dostum said he had found the graves of Taliban prisoners around Shibarghan, near Mazar-i-Sharif and he accused General Pahlawan of murdering the prisoners.⁵⁰
- (1998) Taliban fighters captured a key border town, cutting off their opponents' only supply route.⁵¹
- (1998) The cease-fire lasted only as long as it took the Pakistanis to resupply and reorganize the Taliban. Within a few months of the announcement of a U.S.-backed

⁴⁶ (November 17, 2001). "As Its Grip Slips, Taliban Hangs Tight in Stronghold; Foreign Fighters in Kunduz Vow to Battle to the Last Man." *The Washington Post*.

⁴⁷ (October 30, 1996). "Taliban, Dostum fight on north front." *United Press International*.

⁴⁸ (December 30, 1996). "Taliban Shows off Captive Enemy Commanders." *Associated Press*.

⁴⁹ (June 5, 1997). "Afghan warlord Dostum reunited with family in Turkey." *Associated Press*.

⁵⁰ (December 17, 1997). "U.N. tells how Taliban were killed by the 100s." *The New York Times*.

⁵¹ (August 12, 1998). "Taliban Cuts Opposition's Supplies." *Associated Press Online*.

ULIMA (sp) process, the Taliban, freshly supplied by the ISI from Pakistan and flush with drug money, went on a major offensive and destroyed the Northern Alliance.⁵²

- (2000) The Russian Defense Ministry confirmed that armed units of the Islamic Taliban movement had seized the Afghan city of Taloqan, in the northeast of the country. According to the RF Defense Ministry, after heavy fighting, Northern Alliance forces abandoned that strategic point, the Taliban reportedly losing more than 500 men and Ahmad Shah Masood's troops, 300.⁵³
- (2000) Masood's, in Moscow's Izvestia, said forces have been trying to put up resistance to the ruling Taliban movement and recently managed to retake some territory in northeast Afghanistan. In October, Masood's soldiers stopped the Taliban's surge and then launched a counter-offensive, coming as close as 70 kilometers to Kabul and gaining 20 to 25 percent of land.⁵⁴
- (2001) The coalition, which successfully drove Taliban fighters from most of northern Afghanistan and is now fighting for control of the southern half, is made up of ethnically and religiously disparate groups united mostly in their desire to topple the Taliban regime including Jamiat-e-Islami, the driving force behind the coalition and one of the original Islamist parties of Afghanistan.⁵⁵
- (2001) He told reporters that his Uzbek Junbish-i-Milli faction was not fairly represented by the Bonn accord. "We are very sad," Gen. Dostum said from northern Afghanistan. He led the charge on the key northern city of Mazar-e-Sharif, which fell to the Northern Alliance triggering the Taliban's military collapse.⁵⁶
- (2001) Basically, the alliance consists of three main groupings which might be united in their aim to topple Taliban power in Kabul but, thereafter, could become involved in a

⁵² (April 14, 1999). Hearing Of The Near Eastern And South Asian Affairs Subcommittee Of The Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subject: Afghanistan Chaired By: Senator Sam Brownback (R-ks)." *Federal News Service*.

⁵³ (September 13, 2000). "Taliban Pushing North." *Moscow News (Russia)*.

⁵⁴ (December 2, 2000). "Masood: Afghan war will end in Pakistan." *United Press International*.

⁵⁵ (November 19, 2001). "Fraught by bad blood, the Northern Alliance is shaky at best." *The Ottawa Citizen*.

⁵⁶ (December 7, 2001). "Uzbek Warlord rejects deal: Powerful general threatens to boycott interim government." *The Ottawa Citizen*.

vicious struggle for power once their immediate objective has been achieved. The groups are: Jamiat-i Islami, Junbish-i-Milli-yi Islami, and a Sunni Muslim Uzbek group.⁵⁷

- (2001) The Northern Alliance forces are on the offensive. Their latest success: the takeover of the country's capital, Kabul. And the Taliban appear to be in full retreat. All around this Kabul city park, we saw bodies of men killed by the Northern Alliance.⁵⁸
- (2005) General Abdul Rashid Dostam, was almost killed yesterday when a suicide bomber came within metres of him at a religious celebration. Gen Dostam escaped unhurt but his brother was among the 25 bystanders caught in the blast, suffering minor face injuries. Three people were critically injured. A Taliban spokesman claimed responsibility for the assassination attempt, citing war crime accusations stretching back to the Taliban's fall in 2001.⁵⁹

Violence Location(s):

- Faryab (1996)
- Kabul (1996, 2001)
- Shibarghan (1997)
- Hayratan (1998)
- Taloqan (2000)
- Mazar-e-Sharif (2001)

Casualties:

- 9 (1996)
- 3 (1996)
- 2000 (1997)
- 800 (2000)

Taleban, Taliban (1995-2015)

General Group Notes: 1. Arguably was a state actor from 1996-2001, and if so should be excluded for those years. 2. Rivalry against UIFSA (1996-2001, aka Northern Alliance) means

⁵⁷ (September 30, 2001). "Friends In The North." *The Sunday Herald*.

⁵⁸ (November 14, 2001). "U.S. Concerned Over Power Vacuum; Have Anti-Taliban Forces Moved Too Far Too Soon?; Northern Alliance Takeover Receives Mixed Reaction." *CNN*.

⁵⁹ (January 21, 2005). "Bomber misses Afghan warlord." *The Guardian (London)*.

rivalry against its members: Jamiat I Islami (1990-1996), Junbish (1993-1995), Hizb e Wahdat (1990-1995, as a PGM in 2001-2003)

Rivalry #1: UIFSA Northern Alliance (1996-2001)

Denouncement (1996)

Notes: Taliban→UIFSA Northern Alliance (1996); UIFSA Northern Alliance→Taliban (1998)

- (1996) The Taliban militia took advantage of Friday prayers in Kabul mosques to denounce the Afghan alliance formed to combat it, vowing it would never negotiate. The defiant sermon came a day after a heavy air and ground battle between the Islamic militia and the alliance north of the capital. Locals say the Taliban suffered heavy casualties in the clashes on hilltops dominating the main road into Kabul.⁶⁰
- (1998) The Afghan nation has lost another opportunity for peace as the intra-Afghan peace talks between the two warring factions broke down here, said a spokesman for the Northern Alliance delegation, "I am announcing with heavy hurt that the Afghan nation has lost another opportunity for peace because of the negative attitude of the Taliban."⁶¹

Threat (2001)

Notes: UIFSA Northern Alliance→Taliban (2001)

- (2001) The Northern Alliance told the Taliban and their non-Afghan allies in the city of Kunduz they had three days to surrender or else.⁶²
- (2001) The Northern Alliance gave the Taliban 48 hours to give up or be attacked, a deadline that some officials said will arrive on Saturday. Shajoudin, a Northern Alliance commander, said today that the Taliban fighters in Kunduz will all be killed.⁶³

Violence (1996-2001)

Notes: Symmetric (1996-2001)

⁶⁰ (1996). *Agence France Presse*.

⁶¹ (1998). *Xinhua News Agency*.

⁶² (November 21, 2001). "Northern Alliance Gives Taliban In Kunduz Three Days To Surrender." *The Bulletin's Frontrunner*.

⁶³ (November 17, 2001). "As Its Grip Slips, Taliban Hangs Tight in Stronghold; Foreign Fighters in Kunduz Vow to Battle to the Last Man." *The Washington Post*.

- (1996) Sporadic clashes continued on the two strategic fronts north of Kabul, where anti-Taliban troops led by Ahmed Shah Masood launched a blistering attack on two hills held by the Taliban. Locals said the battle between the Islamic militia and the anti-Taliban alliance, which includes the ousted Kabul government and northern Afghan warlord General Abdul Rashid Dostam, saw the Taliban suffer heavy casualties.”⁶⁴
- (1996) The fight for control of Afghanistan continued with Taliban Islamic militia rebels advancing into the northern province of Faryab in attempts to oust troops loyal to warlord Abdul Rashid Dostum. The Taliban deputy information minister said the militia killed nine of Dostum's men in northwestern Badghis Province and captured 70 others.⁶⁵
- (1996) The Taliban says it lost three soldiers in the fighting. Dostum retaliated with two nights of aerial bombing of Kabul, which damaged properties around the airport and presidential palace, and injured a woman.⁶⁶
- (1997) The Taliban reported success in fighting in Balkh province. The United Islamic Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan (UIFSA) repulsed attacks by Taliban forces in Konduz. The Taliban said it had repulsed an attack in Takhar province, northern Afghanistan. Same day, its forces killed 13 militia north of Kabul. UIFSA had "besieged" the Taliban forces in Konduz while the Taliban reported that it had captured 30 opposition fighters in Badghis province. Three Taliban fighters were killed.⁶⁷
- (1997) Masood's official spokesman claimed that 160 taliban fighters had been taken prisoner and 80 others killed during the fighting in kapisa province.⁶⁸
- (1997) Fierce clashes continue between the forces of the Taleban group and the UIFSA in the north of the country. News received from Mazar-e Sharif reports severe fighting between forces loyal to the Taleban and the UIFSA forces in Mazar-e Sharif.⁶⁹
- (1997) A United Nations team investigating reports from Afghanistan that more than 2,000 Taliban fighters held as prisoners were killed has found hundreds of bodies in wells

⁶⁴ (November 1, 1996). *Agence France Presse*.

⁶⁵ (October 30, 1996). "Taliban, Dostum fight on north front." *United Press International*.

⁶⁶ (December 30, 1996). "Taliban Shows off Captive Enemy Commanders." *Associated Press*.

⁶⁷ (November 1997). *Defense & Foreign Affairs' Strategic Policy*.

⁶⁸ (1997). *Xinhua News Agency*.

⁶⁹ (October 1, 1997). "Taleban facing setbacks in north, mutinies by commanders - Iranian report." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

and shallow graves. Last month Abdul Rashid Dostum said he had found the graves of Taliban prisoners around Shibarghan, near Mazar-i-Sharif. He accused General Pahlawan of murdering the prisoners.”⁷⁰

- (1998) Taliban fighters captured a key border town, cutting off their opponents' only supply route.⁷¹
- (1998) Dostam aligned himself with Rabbani in the Northern Alliance after the Taliban took power in Kabul. The Taliban captured Dostam's northern power base, leaving him in control of only small areas of northern Afghanistan near the border with Uzbekistan.⁷²
- (1998) Administration representatives convinced the anti-Taliban northern alliance not to go on the offensive against a then-weakened and vulnerable Taliban. Within a few months of the announcement of a U.S.-backed ULIMA process, the Taliban, freshly supplied by the ISI from Pakistan and flush with drug money, went on a major offensive and destroyed the Northern Alliance.⁷³
- (1999) With the return of warm weather we see prospects for another round of conflict between the Taliban and the Northern Alliance forces led by Commander Ahmad Shah Masood.⁷⁴
- (1999) Of the 6,000-8,000 Pakistani militants who joined the Taliban for their July 1999 offensive against the Northern Alliance, the majority were not Pushtuns but Punjabis.⁷⁵
- (2000) The Afghan resistance to the Taliban regime has launched a counteroffensive to take back the key town of Taloqan it lost earlier this year. Ahmad Shah Masud, the commander of the Northern Alliance began to move on Taloqan.⁷⁶
- (2000) Following brief fighting the Northern Alliance's troops seized Chal. According to Mohammad Habi, in the course of the fighting 50 Taleban soldiers surrendered and 13

⁷⁰ (December 17, 1997). “U.N. tells how Taliban were killed by the 100s.” *The New York Times*.

⁷¹ (1998) *Five Star Lift*.

⁷² source?

⁷³ (April 14, 1999). “Prepared Statement By Karl F. Inderfurth Assistant Secretary South Asian Affairs Before The Senate Foreign Relations Committee Near Eastern And South Asian Affairs Subcommittee Subject - Afghanistan At A Crossroads.” *Federal News Service*.

⁷⁴ (April 14, 1999). Hearing Of The Near Eastern And South Asian Affairs Subcommittee Of The Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subject: Afghanistan Chaired By: Senator Sam Brownback (R-ks).” *Federal News Service*.

⁷⁵ (1999). *Foreign Affairs*.

⁷⁶ (November 22, 2000). “Afghan resistance launches counteroffensive.” *United Press International*.

were destroyed. The alliance lost one man killed and three wounded, said Habil.⁷⁷

- (2001) Basically, the alliance consists of three main groupings which might be united in their aim to topple Taliban power in Kabul but, thereafter, could become involved in a vicious struggle for power once their immediate objective has been achieved. The groups are: Jamiat-i Islami, Junbish-i-Milli-yi Islami, and a Sunni Muslim Uzbek group.⁷⁸
- (2001) The Northern Alliance forces are on the offensive. Their latest success: the takeover of the country's capital, Kabul. And the Taliban appear to be in full retreat. All around this Kabul city park, we saw bodies of men killed by Northern Alliance troops in their advance.”⁷⁹

Violence Location(s):

- Kabul (1996, 2001)
- Faryab (1996)
- Takhar (1997)
- Kapisa (1997)
- Mazar-e Sharif (1997)
- Shibarghan (1997)
- Konduz; Badghis province; 1997
- Kabul (1998)
- Taloqan (2000)
- Chal (2000)

Casualties:

- 3 (1996)
- 16 (1997)
- 80 (1997)
- 2000 (1997)
- 14 (2000)

⁷⁷ (October 30, 2000). “In Afghanistan Northern Alliance forces have begun successful attack.”

⁷⁸ (2001) Herald.

⁷⁹ (2001). Blitzer.

Khorasan Chapter of the Islamic State (2015-2015)

General Group Notes: Hint of rivalry, but some TTP leaders pledged allegiance to IS.

Rivalry #1: Tehrik (TTP)

Threat (2015)

Notes: Khorasan→Tehrik (2015)

- (2015) Upon the formation of Khorasan chapter of the Islamic State (mainly consisting of Pakistan and Afghanistan), Daesh spokesman Abu Muhammad al Adnani issued a veiled threat to the Taliban factions, both Afghan and Pakistani, which had opposed the creation of the Khorasan province and the Islamic State.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ (July 16, 2015). "TTP Brokering Peace Between Daesh and Afghan Taliban." *Thai News International*.

Khorasan Chapter of the Islamic State (2015-2015)

Rivalry #1: Taliban (1995-2015)

Threat (2015)

Notes: Khorasan→Taliban (2015)

- (2015) Upon the formation of Khorasan chapter of the Islamic State (mainly consisting of Pakistan and Afghanistan), Daesh spokesman Abu Muhammad al Adnani issued a veiled threat to the Taliban factions, both Afghan and Pakistani, which had opposed the creation of the Khorasan province and the Islamic State.⁸¹

⁸¹ (July 16, 2015). "TTP Brokering Peace Between Daesh and Afghan Taliban." *Thai News International*.

Algeria

All Groups and Years:

Abu Nidal Organization (ANO) (1990)

Takfir wa'l Hijra (1991)

Kach (1991)

FIS (1991-1994)

AIS (1992-1997)

GIA (1993-2006)

Salafist Group for Preaching and Fighting (GSPC) (1999-2008)

AQIM (2007-2015)

Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) (2011-2015)

Al-Mua'qi'oon Biddam Brigade (Those who Sign with Blood) (2013-2015)

Ninjas (1993-1998)

Organization of free young Algerians (1993-1994)

Communal Guards (1995-2006)

Groups for Legitimate Defense (aka Patriots) (1990-2007)

Islamic Salvation Front/Army (AIS/FIS)

Rivalry #1: Armed Islamic Groups (GIA)

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #2: Communal Guards

Violence

Rivalry #3: Organization of Free Young Algerians

Violence

Armed Islamic Groups (GIA)

Rivalry #1: Ninjas

Violence

Rivalry #2: Communal Guards

Violence

Rivalry #3: Groups for Legitimate Defense (aka Patriots)

Violence

Group for Salafist Preaching and Combat (GSPC)

Rivalry #1: Communal Guards

Violence

Rivalry #2: Groups for Legitimate Defense (aka Patriots)

Violence

Islamic Salvation Front/Army (AIS/FIS) (1991-1997)

Rivalry #1: GIA (1993-2006)

Denouncement: (1994-1997)

Notes: Symmetric (1994-1995); AIS→GIA (1996-1997)

- (1994) The FIS has generally condemned GIA actions...FIS has taken tentative steps towards entering talks with the government, a move which the GIA has condemned as treachery.¹
- (1994) The GIA plans to “paralyze” secondary and higher education were condemned by the FIS.²
- (1994) The FIS has condemned the indiscriminate targeting of foreigners, and the GIA's apparent offer to desist is portrayed by the Arab press as being related to the struggle for ascendancy by the two groups within the Islamist camp.³
- (1994) The GIA accord claims for it the right to command the armed struggle, he said, a right FIS and AIS "completely refuse."⁴
- (1994) The deadly competition between the FIS and the GIA is leading to violent vendettas, and denunciations by elders of the FIS, who claim the GIA is acting as an accomplice to the military.⁵
- (1994) The Islamic Salvation Army (AIS), the armed wing of FIS, called the proclamation of the GIA government "heretical," saying that naming a new Islamic authority without full consultation with the country's Moslems broke Islamic law. The AIS opposes the GIA's campaigns of attacking foreigners considered "collaborators" with the regime and of destroying schools.⁶
- (1994) The FIS has been increasingly bold in their denunciation of the excesses committed by more militant Islamist factions, such as the Armed Islamic Group (GIA).⁷

¹ (October 2, 1994). “Former FIS Leader to Head GIA.” *Agence France Presse*.

² (September 8, 1994). “Algeria’s FIS Applauds Release of Some Detainees but Demands More.” *Mideast Mirror*.

³ (July 25, 1994). “Militants Offer Trade-Off After Release of Arab Diplomats.” *Mideast Mirror*.

⁴ (September 30, 1994). “Algeria-Politics: Doubts Cast on Fundamentalist Party Promises.” *Inter Press Service*.

⁵ (September 3, 1994). “Violence Tips Algiers Toward Compromise.” *Financial Times*.

⁶ (August 29, 1994). “Divisions Wrack the Algerian Fundamentalists.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁷ (September 2, 1994). “Unanswered Questions in Algerian-Moroccan Row.” *Mideast Mirror*.

- (1995) The FIS criticized the actions of the GIA.⁸
- (1995) The FIS accused the GIA of being infiltrated by members of Algerian intelligence and further condemned violence against civilians.⁹
- (1995) The FIS further criticized the GIA, but noted that conflict was unlikely.¹⁰
- (1995) The GIA blamed army informers in the AIS for the slaughter of guerrillas, while the AIS accused the GIA of alienating the public by its kidnapping and assassination campaign.¹¹
- (1995) The AIS reportedly denounced the barbaric acts of the GIA against women. The GIA reportedly disarmed members of the AIS in reprisals and threatened to kill them.¹²
- (1996) The FIS condemned the murder of French monks and called the GIA a terrorist group.¹³
- (1996) The FIS followed up on previous accusations that the GIA is infiltrated by the Algerian security forces.¹⁴
- (1997) Leadership of the FIS blamed the increase in violence on the GIA, and accused them of disrupting the peace process.¹⁵
- (1997) The statement from the AIS said its ceasefire was designed "to unmask the enemy hiding behind the abominable massacres" and described those responsible as "the perverse, extremist GIA."¹⁶
- (1997) "The GIA are a gang of extremists and criminals and we have nothing to do with them. We condemn all barbarous acts against civilians as does the AIS which carries out armed resistance against the security forces only."¹⁷

⁸ (December 17, 1995). "FIS executive abroad calls for dialogue, condemns GIA and its fellow travellers." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁹ (1995). *BBC*.

¹⁰ (March 28, 1995). "'Secret dialogue' resumes between Algeria's regime and the FIS?" *Mideast Mirror*.

¹¹ (April 19, 1995). "Signs of Algerian Peace Emerge." *The Irish Times*.

¹² (March 28, 1995). "Islamic Salvation Army Denounces Armed Islamic Group's Violence Against Women." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

¹³ (May 5, 1996). "GIA vows to publicize French 'duplicity' over murdered monks." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁴ (December 14, 1996). "FIS Denies Reports of Merger Between Armed Islamist Groups." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

¹⁵ (August 14, 1997). "Massacres in Algeria Cannot be Justified by Islam." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁶ (September 25, 1997). "Islamic Extremists Call Ceasefire After Algerian Massacre." *Calgary Herald*.

¹⁷ (May 1, 1997). "The Former French Colony Annulled its Last Elections." *The European*.

Threat: (1994-1997)

Notes: Symmetric (1994); GIA→AIS (1995 - 1997)

- (1994) GIA is threatening reprisals against FIS leaders who are tempted by dialogue.¹⁸
- (1994) The AIS threatened last May to "liquidate 20 members" of the GIA to punish it for having announced the unification of many armed Islamic groups under its authority.¹⁹
- (1995) The GIA threatened and released a list of FIS members that they wanted killed.²⁰
- (1995) An FIS leader spoke out about the GIA due to previous GIA threats against the AIS.²¹
- (1995). The GIA gave the AIS one month to stop making statements about the group or measures would be taken and threatened FIS leaders.²²
- (1996) In January 1996, the GIA publicly declared war on the AIS.²³
- (1996) The GIA has threatened to kill nine people, among them the commander of the Islamic Salvation Army [AIS] and his deputy.²⁴
- (1997) It said it aimed to "eradicate" the regime and its supporters, to "destroy their fields, capture their women and their money. The group threatened the AIS with retaliation for its ceasefire."²⁵

Violence: (1994-1997)

Notes: Symmetric (1994-1997)

- (1994) The GIA executed 70 members of the AIS.²⁶
- (1994) Security forces and the media reported a number of clashes between rival groups in what the papers called "the war of the chiefs." A GIA leader was reportedly killed along with nine of his deputies and his wife by a rival group.²⁷

¹⁸ (September 2, 1994). "GIA threatens reprisals against FIS leaders who negotiate "with the enemy."” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

¹⁹ (August 6, 1994). "Urgent.” *Agence France Presse*.

²⁰ (July 15, 1995). "Official of FIS abroad accuses GIA of assassinating imam in Paris.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²¹ (April 5, 1995). "Confrontation seen looming between Algeria's FIS and GIA.” *Mideast Mirror*.

²² (July 11, 1995). "FIS leaders warned against dialogue with Algerian government.” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

²³ (June 1, 1996). "ARMED ISLAMIC GROUP (GIA).” *The PRS Group*.

²⁴ (January 16, 1996). "Armed Islamic Group Threatens to Kill Islamic Salvation Army Leaders.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²⁵ (September 26, 1997). "Radical GIA Group Claims Algerian Massacres.” *Agence France Presse*.

²⁶ (June 1, 1996). "ARMED ISLAMIC GROUP (GIA).” *The PRS Group*.

²⁷ (March 22, 1995). "15 reported dead in clash between rival Islamic groups.” *Agence France Presse*.

- (1995) The GIA also murdered a number of AIS leaders.²⁸
- (1995) Outside of Algiers 15 people died in fighting between the FIS and GIA.²⁹
- (1995) Clashes between groups in the Jijel area lead to dozens killed.³⁰
- (1995) There were reports that AIS leader Ahmad Ben-Eicha narrowly escaped a GIA ambush, while an aide was killed.³¹
- (1995) Fighting was reported near Miliana, where 18 were killed.³²
- (1995) Additional sources verify conflict between the two groups in the towns of Skikda and Guelma, where 12 died, and Jijel where 18 died.³³
- (1996) A leader of Algeria's most radical Islamic fundamentalist group is believed to have been among 55 people killed in a series of clashes between rival organisations. Security forces found the bodies of 15 terrorists in the Tamezguida forest, near Blida.³⁴
- (1996) Le Matin and El Watan reported 55 people killed in clashes between the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and members of the rival Islamic Salvation Army (AIS).
- (1997) A bomb near Algiers killed two people and injured 12 others. The bomb attack in Sidi Moussa is believed to have been staged by the GIA and directed against the rival Islamic Army of Salvation (AIS).³⁵
- (1997) 250 rebels died in clashes between guerrilla rivals, the Islamic Salvation Army (AIS) and the Armed Islamic Group (GIA). The battles took place in the Mitidja area.³⁶
- (1997) More than 50 people were thought to have been butchered in massacres in two Algerian villages...suspected members of extremists Islamic Salvation Army (AIS), had mined the bodies. The massacres came in revenge for the slaying of villagers who allegedly supported the rival extremist Islamic Armed Groups (GIA).³⁷

²⁸ (December 12, 1995). "FIS renews attacks on GIA following the killing of two FIS leaders." *BBC Summary of World Reports*.

²⁹ (March 23, 1995). "GIA-AIS clash west of Algiers reportedly leaves 15 dead." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

³⁰ (May 17, 1995). "Algerian Paper Says "Dozens" Killed in GIA-AIS Clashes in Last Fortnight." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

³¹ (April 18, 1995). "Algeria: Yet Another "Dialogue" Falls Flat." *Mideast Mirror*.

³² (April 2, 1995). "60 Said Killed in Fighting Between Islamic Groups in Algeria." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

³³ (April 13, 1995). "30 Killed as Algeria's Rival Islamic Groups Clash." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

³⁴ (January 4, 1996). "GIA Chief Believed Dead in Clashes Between Rival Islamic Groups." *Agence France Presse*.

³⁵ (March 26, 1997). "Terror Chief Killed in Algeria." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

³⁶ (December 4, 1997). "280 Killed as Algerian Rebel Rivals Clash." *The Toronto Star*.

³⁷ (September 22, 1997). "Over 50 Said Butchered in Massacres in Algeria, Baby Nailed to Door." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

- (1997) There were violent clashes between the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and the Islamic Salvation Army (AIS) in the area around Mascara. The fighting left dozens dead on both sides. The two groups also clashed in the mountains at Medea and Bouira leaving many dead and wounded. Meanwhile, 30 villagers who supported the AIS were killed at Ktiten by a GIA team.³⁸

Violence Location:

- Algiers (1995, 1996, 1997)
- Jijel (1995)
- Miliana (1995)
- Skikda (1995)
- Guelma (1995)
- Blida (1996)
- Lakhdaria (1996)
- Sidi Moussa (1997)
- Mitidja (1997)
- Mascara (1997)
- Medea (1997)
- Bouira (1997)
- Ktiten (1997)

Casualties:

- 70 (1994)
- 10 (1994)
- 15 (1995)
- Dozens (1995)
- 1 (1995)
- 18 (1995)
- 30 (1995)
- 70 (1996)
- 2 (1997)
- 250 (1997)

³⁸ (February 15, 1997). "12 Armed Extremists Killed in Algeria." *Agence France Presse*.

- 50 (1997)
- 30 (1997)

Islamic Salvation Front/Army (AIS/FIS) (1991-1997)

Rivalry #2: Communal Guards (1995-2006)

Violence: (1996)

Notes: Communal Guard→AIS/FIS (1996)

- (1996) There were credible reports from three villages in Jijel province that Communal Guard forces arrested persons suspected of sympathies with armed groups and detained them at Guard barracks. The most prominent case involving a prisoner held incommunicado was FIS vice president Ali Benhadj.³⁹

Violence Location:

- Jijel province (1996)

³⁹ (February, 1997). "Algeria Report on Human Rights Practices for 1996." *Department of State Human Rights Country Reports*.

Islamic Salvation Front/Army (AIS/FIS) (1991-1997)

Rivalry #3: Organization of Free Young Algerians (1993-1994)

Violence: (1993)

Notes: AIS/FIS→Organization of Free Young Algerians (1993)

- (1993) Boudjelkha was kidnapped after hooded and armed gunmen claiming to be police officers burst into his home late in the evening. His wife told authorities that she received an anonymous phone call telling her that her husband was in the hands of a group known as the Organisation of Free Young Algerians and that he was a traitor.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ (November 15, 1993). "Kidnapped FIS founder freed: report." *Agence France Presse*.

Armed Islamic Groups (GIA) (1993-2006)

Rivalry #1: Ninjas (1993-1998)

Violence: (1995)

Notes: Ninjas→GIA (1995)

- (1995) For the ninjas, hunting down their young extremist foes such as Armed Islamic Group (GIA) militants has become a matter of pride.⁴¹

⁴¹ (November 15, 1995). "Police enforce curfew as Algerians prepare to vote." *Agence France Presse*.

Armed Islamic Groups (GIA) (1993-2006)

Rivalry #2: Communal Guards (1995-2006)

Violence: (1995-1996, 1998-2000, 2003)

Notes: Communal Guard→GIA (1995); GIA→Communal Guard (1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003)

- (1995) Kouka was the nom-de-guerre of a local GIA leader killed by communal guard forces last year.⁴²
- (1996) The GIA committed a bloodbath in Benachour in which whole families had their throats cut after guerrillas entered the hamlet to avenge themselves on villagers who had dared to join the government's communal guard...At Haouch Trab, 10 civilians also had their throats cut on Wednesday night after being accused of supporting the local communal guard.⁴³
- (1998) Two communal guards were killed during an ambush by a GIA commando near the bridge over the Bouchaid river in El Aouana.⁴⁴
- (1999) A terrorist group attacked the village of Ouled Aissa. The group, which is said to be part of the GIA, was intercepted in time by the communal guards. During the clash, a communal guard was killed.⁴⁵
- (2000) GIA terrorists perpetrated a bomb attack in Texanna. Several days later, another attack on the Jijel-to-Bejaia road killed several elements of the Communal Guard.⁴⁶
- (2003) A communal guard was killed by armed Islamists in Algeria's Chlef region, according to security sources. The victim was killed in the town of Beni Bouateb while entering her home.⁴⁷

Violence Location:

- Benachour (1996)

⁴² (December 10, 1996). "Sadism is new creed in Algeria." *The Independent (London)*.

⁴³ (December 10, 1996). "Sadism is new creed in Algeria." *The Independent (London)*.

⁴⁴ (October 27, 1998). "Armed Islamic Group kills two communal guards in east." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁴⁵ (July 13, 1999). "Five People Reportedly Killed, Including Two Policemen." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁴⁶ (June 15, 2000). "Confusion, Tension in Jijel Reported as GIA Takes Over Area." *BB Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁴⁷ (October 6, 2003). "Algerian guard killed by armed Islamists." *Agence France Presse*.

- Haouch Trab (1996)
- El Aouana (1998)
- Ouled Aissa (1999)
- Texanna (2000)
- Chef Region (2003)

Casualties:

- 1 (1995)
- 10 (1996)
- 2 (1998)
- 1 (1999)
- 1 (2003)

Armed Islamic Groups (GIA) (1993-2006)

Rivalry #3: Groups for Legitimate Defense (aka Patriots) (1990-2007)

Violence: (1996-2000, 2004)

Notes: Symmetric (1998); GIA→Patriots (1996 - 1997, 1999-2000); Patriots→GIA (2004)

- (1996) Some 15 members of the GIA stole into Bensalah and slit the throats of 12 civilians. One of the members of the family was a patriot who protects the village.⁴⁸
- (1997) While the patriots prowled the mountains looking for the GIA, the guerillas would come - a hundred at a time - and murder their families.⁴⁹
- (1998) The GIA is thought to be behind the patriot killings.⁵⁰
- (1998) It has been learnt from a reliable source that a patriot was killed when he discovered a bomb placed under a plough. Two people were also injured...⁵¹
- (1998) A joint security force made up of the police and patriots killed six terrorists near Sidi Mohamed Benaoud and El Matmar in an ambush.⁵²
- (1998) The daily Le Matin said two soldiers and seven patriots died in fighting in the mountainous region of Saida. Newspaper reports said the army used helicopters and heavy artillery to root out 50 members of the GIA from the rough terrain.⁵³
- (1998) Seven terrorists were killed during a combing operation carried out by the army and the patriots in Oued Goussine and Beni Houa.⁵⁴
- (1999) GIA stormed three hamlets near Kherrata and exchanged fire with a group of patriots before withdrawing.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ (November 13, 1996). "Urgent Twelve Killed in Algeria." *Agence France Presse*.

⁴⁹ (September 20, 1997). "The Agony of Algeria." *Sydney Morning Herald*.

⁵⁰ (1998). "Bomb attack kills 12 in Algeria." *Agence France Presse*.

⁵¹ (July 9, 1998). "Paper Reports Destruction of GIA Logistic Base in West." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁵² (August 29, 1998). "Ten 'Terrorists' Killed in Relizane, Boumerdes, Algiers." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁵³ (October 27, 1998). "Armed Islamic Group Kills Two Communal Guards in East." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁵⁴ (September 9, 1998). "Seven 'Terrorists' Killed in West." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁵⁵ (July 13, 1999). "Five people reportedly killed, including two policemen." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

- (2000) Nearly 200 GIA members are still on the run in the same mountains. The recent killings of soldiers in Irragueme and patriots at Tizi N'bechar indicate the intention of this group to refuse the hand offered by the law on civil concord.⁵⁶
- (2000) Five members of the Patriots and one Algerian soldier were killed and 11 others were wounded during an ambush by Islamic extremists near Tiaret. 50 members of the GIA cornered the militia members into a ravine and attacked them with grenades.⁵⁷
- (2004) Major human and material resources were deployed for the success of this operation which made it possible to surround 30 or so terrorists from the GIA who did not want to surrender.⁵⁸

Violence Location:

- Bensalah (1996)
- El Matmar (1998)
- Saida (1998)
- Beni Houa (1998)
- Kherrata (1999)
- Tizi N'bechar (2000)
- Tiaret (2000)

Casualties:

- 12 (1996)
- 1 (1998)
- 6 (1998)
- 9 (1998)
- 7 (1999)
- 5 (2000)

⁵⁶ (2000 bbc summary of world broadcasts 2)

⁵⁷ (January 6, 2000). "14 Killed in Attacks by Islamic Extremists in Algeria." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁵⁸ (May 24, 2004). "Algeria: Thirty GIA "terrorists" surrounded by security forces in Annaba." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Group for Salafist Preaching and Combat (GSPC) (1999-2008)

Rivalry #1: Communal Guards (1995-2006)

Violence: (2000, 2002, 2006)

Notes: Symmetric (2000, 2006); Communal Guards→GSPC (2002)

- (2000) Nine were killed in Beni Aissi when a bomb planted by the Islamists went off in the town, killing eight communal guards and injuring two others.⁵⁹
- (2000) For the past 72 hours, forces of the People's National Army ANP, communal guards and patriots have encircled a terrorist group from the Salafist Group for Preaching and Fighting GSPC that had retrenched in the Babors Mountains.⁶⁰
- (2002) 12 local guards were killed in a raid on their barracks in eastern Algeria. The 11 insurgents were suspected members of the Salafist Group for Call and Combat.⁶¹
- (2006) The communal guard members were riding on a bus when it was ambushed by 20 assailants in the Skikda region. The gunmen exploded a handmade device on the road in front of the vehicle, then mounted and opened fire on the passengers, killing the guards and one civilian. The newspapers laid blame for the attack on the GSPC.⁶²
- (2006) Some 800 soldiers, police and communal guards, took part in the assault Sunday near Annaba. The group targeted was affiliated with the Salafist Group for Call and Combat, or GSPC.⁶³

Violence Location:

- Beni Aissi (2000)
- Babors Mountains (2000)
- Skikda region (2006)
- Annaba (2006)

Casualties:

⁵⁹ (September 29, 2000). "Nine security force members in Algerian killed by armed group." *Agence France Presse*.

⁶⁰ (March 25, 2000). "Paper says army surrenders fifty rebels." *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

⁶¹ (March 6, 2002). "Security forces kill 11 Islamic insurgents; News agency denies report that insurgents killed 12 guardsmen." *The Associated Press*.

⁶² (April 24, 2006). "Ten killed in ambush by Algerian Islamic extremists: reports." *Agence France Presse*.

⁶³ (June 26, 2006). "19 Islamic insurgents reportedly killed by military." *The Associated Press*.

- 9 (2000)
- 12 (2002)
- 1+ (2006)

Group for Salafist Preaching and Combat (GSPC) (1999-2008)

Rivalry #2: Groups for Legitimate Defense (aka Patriots) (1990-2007)

Violence: (2000)

Notes: Patriots→GSPC (2000)

- (2000) Forces of the People's National Army ANP, supported by elements from the patriots have encircled a terrorist group from the GSPC in the Babors Mountains.⁶⁴

Violence Location:

- Babors Mountains (2000)

⁶⁴ (March 25, 2000). "Paper says army surrenders fifty rebels." *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

Angola

All Groups and Years:

Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda-Renewal (FLEC-R) (1990-2002)

FLEC-FAC (1990-2010)

UNITA (1990-2002)

Executive Outcomes (1991-1996)

Civil Defence Organization (ODC) (1992-2005)

National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)

Rivalry #1: Executive Outcomes

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) (1990-2002)

Rivalry #1: Executive Outcomes (1991-1995)

Denouncement: (1994, 1995)

Notes: UNITA→Executive Outcomes (1994, 1995)

- (1994) UNITA claimed Executive Outcomes had mercenaries in Angola, but Executive Outcomes insisted its 500 men in Angola were legally employed as guards and instructors by the Angolan government.¹
- (1995) UNITA earlier claimed that the group are members of the South African-based private military company Executive Outcomes and that they had admitted to a plot to assassinate UNITA leader Savimbi.²

Threat: (1994, 1995)

Notes: UNITA→Executive Outcomes (1994); Symmetric (1998); (1994) UNITA threatened to publicly execute four South African Executive Outcomes employees it claims to have captured after it shot down a plane in Angola's northern Lunda-Norte province.³

- (1995) Four Executive Outcomes soldiers were captured in Northern Angola by UNITA forces.⁴
- (1995) Executive Outcomes forced Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA, to accept a settlement favoring the MPLA government.⁵

Violence: (1993, 1994, 1995)

Notes: Symmetric

¹ (1994). "Government considers legal action against mercenaries firm." *Agence France Presse*.

² (1995). "South Africa probing capture of alleged mercenaries." *Agence France Presse*.

³ (1994). "Government considers legal action against mercenaries firm." *Agence France Presse*.

⁴ (2002). *Africa News*.

⁵ (1995). "Apartheid's hitmen go back to war." *The Guardian*.

- (1993) ELITE counter-insurgency troops formerly serving with the South African security forces in Namibia were recruited to help the Angolan army in its war against Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebel movement.⁶
- (1993) While South African mercenaries linked to the company Executive Outcomes (EO) have been fighting with President Eduardo dos Santos's Government since 1993, it is now known that South Africans have been helping the rebel UNITA movement in the latest fighting on the country's disputed southern plateau.”
- (1994) Two Executive Outcomes members were captured when their PC-7 plane was shot down by UNITA shortly before government forces recaptured the strategic diamond town of Cafunfo.⁷
- (1994) UNITA's journal *Terra Angolana* published photos of three soldiers killed by UNITA. Two of the soldiers were identified as Executive Outcomes employees by their families.⁸
- (1994) Executive Outcomes identified the location of UNITA units in N'dalatando City, the diamond areas in Cafunfo, and the oil installation in Soyo and performed, in conjunction with the armed forces, “classic find, fix and destroy operations.”⁹
- (1994) UNITA threatened to execute four South Africans captured after their Angolan military plane was shot down.¹⁰
- (1994) Executive Outcomes played a leading role in defeating UNITA in 1994 and maintained a government-sponsored air reconnaissance operation using two small spotter planes to spy on UNITA areas.¹¹
- (1995) Four employees were believed to be held by UNITA in Angola, but UNITA's Savimbi said he has no knowledge of the missing men.¹²

⁶ (1993). :Savimbi's former allies now march to Luanda's drum; Pretoria-based company recruits veterans of Namibia war to bolster Angolan army in its struggle with Unita.” *The Independent*.

⁷ (1996). *Human Rights Watch Report*.

⁸ (1996). *Human Rights Watch*.

⁹ (2009). *International Journal*.

¹⁰ (1994). “COLUMN ONE: Hired guns turn tide in Angola: A motley crew of mercenaries and combat veterans from Africa's battles has helped put tenacious UNITA rebels on the ropes in a bitter civil war. One result could be a new peace accord” *Los Angeles Times*.

¹¹ (1994). “Diamond fever. British victims of Africa's billion-dollar war.” *Sunday Times*.

¹² (1996). *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist*.

- (1995) Executive Outcomes was credited with forcing Jonas Savimbi, leader of the UNITA rebels, to accept a settlement favoring the MPLA government.¹³
- (1995) The company said at least 10 recruits were killed in Angola, including at least two executed by UNITA.¹⁴
- (1995) Executive Outcomes admitted to a plot to assassinate UNITA leader Savimbi.¹⁵
- (1995) At least 10 Executive Outcomes recruits were killed in Angola, including at least two by ANITA.¹⁶

Violence Location:

- Cafunfo (1994)

Casualties:

- 17 (1994)
- 12 (1995)
- 24 (1998)

Rivalry Certainty:

- 1 (1993)
- 1 (1994)
- 1,5 (1995)
- 2 (1996)
- 1 (1998)

¹³ (1995). "When mercenaries are a junta's best friend." *Guardian Weekly*.

¹⁴ (1995). "Apartheid's hitmen go back to war." *The Guardian*.

¹⁵ (1995). "South Africa probing capture of alleged mercenaries." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁶ (1995). "Apartheid's hitmen go back to war." *The Guardian*.

Bangladesh

All Groups and Years:

JSS (jana samhati samiti)/SB (shanti bahini) (1990-1997)

Purbo Banglar Communist Party (PBCP) (1995-2011)

Purbo Banglar Communist Party-Janajuddho or Janajuddha (PBCB-J) (2005-2006)

Awami League (1991-2015)

Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) (1990-2015)

Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami (1999-1999)

Islamic State in Bangladesh (2015-2015)

Jam'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) (2003-2015)

Jamaat-E-Islami (Bangladesh) and its student wing Islami Chhatra Shibir (1991-2015)

Pro-Hartal Activists (2012-2015)

Ansar and Village Defence Party (1976-2007)

Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal (JCD) (1991-2006)

Bangladesh Students League (1996-2001)

Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (2004)

Purbo Banglar Communist Party (PBCP)

Rivalry #1: Awami League

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Awami League

Rivalry #1: Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami

Rivalry #1: Awami League

Violence

Jam'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB)

Rivalry #1: Awami League

Threat

Violence

Jamaat-e-Islami (Bangladesh) and student wing Islami

Chhatra Shibir

Rivalry #1: Awami League

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Pro-Hartal Activists

Rivalry #1: Awami League

Violence

Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh

Rivalry #1: Awami League

Violence

Purbo Banglar Communist Party (PBCP) (1995-2011)

Rivalry #1: Awami League (1991-2015)

Denouncement: (2010)

Notes: PBCP→AL (2010)

- (2010) The outfit warned of taking revenge of the killing of leaders and activists including PBCP general secretary. They blamed the 'conspiracy' of a group of Awami League (AL) leaders in the district for killing several of their leaders and activists.¹

Threat: (2010)

Notes: PBCP→AL (2010)

- (2010) PBCP leaflets warned of taking revenge of the killing of leaders and activists. They blamed the 'conspiracy' of a group of Awami League (AL) leaders in the district for killing several of their leaders and activists in the district.²

Violence: (2003, 2010)

Notes: PBCP→AL (2003); Symmetric (2010)

- (2003) The banned left-wing group Purbo Banglar Communist Party (Janojuddha) (PBCP) has today claimed responsibility for the murder of senior opposition Awami League (AL) member Monjurul Imam.³
- (2003) The killing comes on the heels of the assassination Monday of the Awami League's president for the southwestern city of Khulna. The Purbo Banglar Communist Party (Janojuddha) claimed responsibility for the Khulna gun attack, saying Imam, a lawyer, was a class enemy.⁴
- (2010) Police arrested a fugitive leader of outlawed Purbo Banglar Communist Party...Arrestee Nurul Islam was involved in killing of Amzad Hossain Master, general secretary of Raninagar upazila unit Awami League.⁵

¹ (February 13, 2010). "Bangladesh: PBCP Threatens to Avenge Killing of Party Men." *Right Vision News*.

² (February 13, 2010). "Bangladesh: PBCP Threatens to Avenge Killing of Party Men." *Right Vision News*.

³ (August 23, 2003). "Killing of Second Senior Opposition Leader Prompts Outrage, Protests in Bangladesh." *IHS Global Insight*.

⁴ (August 27, 2003). "Another opposition leader killed in Bangladesh." *Agence France Presse*.

⁵ (February 26, 2010). "Bangladesh: Outlaws arrested, arms recovered." *Right Vision News*.

- (2010) The PBCP-ML blamed a group of Awami League (AL) leaders in the district for killing several of their leaders and activists in the district. Terming 'crossfire' killing as a 'cold blooded murder', the outfit leaders warned law enforcement agencies of 'anything anytime'.⁶

Violence Location(s):

- Khulna (2003)

Casualties:

- 2 (2003)
- 3 (2010)

⁶ (February 13, 2010). "Bangladesh: PBCP Threatens to Avenge Killing of Party Men." *Right Vision News*.

Awami League (1991-2015)

Rivalry #1: Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) (1990-2015)

Denouncement: (1996-1998, 2005, 2007, 2012, 2015)

Notes: AL→BNP (1996, 1998, 2015); BNP→AL (1997, 2007, 2012); Symmetric (2005)

- (1996) The Awami League chief criticized the BNP for retaining the Defence Ministry with the president and BNP's failure in securing a fair share of the Ganges river water.⁷
- (1997) Several activists assaulted eight photographers covering a BNP rally in Dhaka. BNP officials condemned the attack while blaming it on the Awami League.⁸
- (1998) The Awami League condemned the BNP-led violence ahead of the court verdict on the murder trial of Bangladesh's founding father Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.⁹
- (2005) These BNP leaders are blaming the Awami League for yesterday's bomb blasts.¹⁰
- (2005) Awami League enforced a strike protesting the killing of a party leader and blamed the ruling BNP for the killing.¹¹
- (2007) The BNP accuses the Awami League of attempting to Sabotage the polls. In the past two months, the Awami League has organized crippling strikes that have killed more than 40 people, injured hundreds and damaged businesses.¹²
- (2012) BNP acting secretary general Mirza Fakhrul Islam Alamgir denounced the attack on BNP men by Awami League activists in Kaliganj upazila.¹³
- (2015) The ruling Awami League has blamed the bomb attacks on the BNP.¹⁴

⁷ (May 24, 1996). "Relations with China; Awami League criticizes Bangladesh Nationalist Party over president's power." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁸ (February 1997). "Bangladesh Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1996." *Department of State Human Rights Country Reports*.

⁹ (November 7, 1998). "One killed, scores injured on Bangladesh political violence." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁰ (August 18, 2005). "Bangladesh ruling party leaders deny militant group's links to blasts." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

¹¹ (May 18, 2005). "Awami League strike hits Dhaka. Indo-Asian News Service." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

¹² (January 3, 2007). "Bangladesh Alliance Announces Election Boycott." *Voice of America News*.

¹³ (October 31, 2012). "Fakhrul denounces attack on Gazipur BNP men." *United News of Bangladesh*.

¹⁴ (October 24, 2015). "Hopes Hinge on Footage to Crack Shia Blast Mystery." *Financial Express*.

- (2015) Ruling Awami League leaders maintain that the BNP-Jamaat-e-Islami alliance was trying to pave the way for an unconstitutional government by creating anarchy.¹⁵

Threat: (2006)

Notes: AL→BNP (2006)

- (2006) The opposition Awami League had already refused to accept Hasan, describing him as a supporter of the ruling BNP and a stooge of the Government. The Awami League and its allies had threatened to paralyse the country if Hasan took office.¹⁶

Violence: (1996-1997, 2001, 2003-2007, 2011-2015)

Notes: AL→BNP (2006, 2012), BNP→AL (1996, 2004, 2014), Symmetric (1997, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2011, 2013, 2015)

- (1996) Another worker from the Awami League, the biggest opposition group, was killed in clashes with BNP activists in Rangpur, a known opposition stronghold.¹⁷
- (1997) The clashes were between supporters of the Awami League and the BNP...reports said there was a shootout between BNP and ruling Awami League student supporters.¹⁸
- (2001) Sporadic violence and clashes between the Awami League, the opposition BNP and the police also left 100 people injured in the southeastern Noakhali district.¹⁹
- (2001) Four people were killed in the country's southwestern Kushtia as the activists of Awami League and the BNP fought gun battles for hours.²⁰
- (2003) Most victims of this year's almost 2,000 political killings are from the two main parties - the Awami League and the governing Bangladesh Nationalist Party. Each blames the other for the violence.²¹
- (2004) A Dhaka court indicted BNP chief Begum Khaleda Zias "fugitive" elder son and 29 others on charges related to the August 21 grenade attack on an Awami League rally.²²

¹⁵ (February 5, 2015). "Hasina Dismisses Probability of Imposing Emergency." *The Statesmen (India)*.

¹⁶ (2006). *Hindustan Times*.

¹⁷ (February 20, 1996). "Reporter, three others killed in Bangladesh violence." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

¹⁸ (November 27, 1997). "Violence as Bangladesh opposition leader visits port city city city." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁹ (July 15, 2001). "Seven killed in political violence in Bangladesh." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁰ (July 16, 2001). "Violence in Bangladesh Ahead of Power Handover Kills Five." *Xinhua General News Service*.

²¹ (2003). *Associated Press International*.

²² (December 11, 2012). "Bangladesh: Sustained Consolidation." *South Asia Intelligence Review/IBNS*.

- (2005) Opposition Awami League enforced a daylong strike protesting the killing of a party leader....the Awami League chief and the former prime minister blamed the ruling BNP for the killing.²³
- (2005) At least five more people were killed Monday, taking the death toll to 24 and the number of injured to nearly 2,000 in violence as political workers of the 14-party opposition alliance led by the Awami League and the rival BNP fought pitched battles and set fire to the houses of their opponents.²⁴
- (2006) Awami League activists attacked government and BNP offices....Awami League activists set fire to the BNP office at Chatkhil and damaged the upazila Jamaat office.²⁵
- (2007) In the past two months, the Awami League has organized a series of crippling strikes and blockades that have killed more than 40 people, injured hundreds and damaged businesses.²⁶
- (2007) But despite the reintroduction of democracy 16 years ago, both main parties of the Awami League and BNP have regularly boycotted parliament and staged national strikes as negotiating tactics when in opposition. Earlier this week, riot police fired tear gas and rubber bullets at street protesters in the latest eruption of violence during blockades called by the opposition.²⁷
- (2011) In Chapainawabganj, Twenty five people, including a cop and journalists, were injured in a clash between BNP and Awami League activists during hartal hours.²⁸
- (2012) BNP acting secretary denounced the attack on BNP men by Awami League activists in Kaliganj upazila of Gazipur district.²⁹
- (2013) BNP activists clashed with law enforcers and ruling party Awami League men, attacked election officials and went on a rampage in more than 350 polling stations across the country. Voting was suspended in 539 polling centres in the wake of violence, according to the Election Commission.³⁰

²³ (May 18, 2005). "Awami League strike hits Dhaka." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

²⁴ (May 18, 2005). "Awami League strike hits Dhaka." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

²⁵ (October 29, 2006). "Seventeen killed, 1,000 wounded in Bangladesh violence." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

²⁶ (January 3, 2007). "Bangladesh Alliance Announces Election Boycott." *Voice of America News*.

²⁷ (January 12, 2007). "State of emergency in Bangladesh, polls postponed." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁸ (April 7, 2011). "Day-long hartal observed." *The New Nation (Bangladesh)*.

²⁹ (October 31, 2012). "Fakhrul denounces attack on Gazipur BNP men." *United News of Bangladesh*.

³⁰ (2013). *Defence Journal*.

- (2013) An activist of Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal, the student wing of BNP was killed and five others were injured in a clash with the activists of Bangladesh Chhatra League, the student front of Awami League.³¹
- (2014) Mahmudul Hasan, general secretary of Diara union of Jubo League, the youth wing of Awami League was attacked by BNP- Jamaat-e-Islami men with sticks and iron rods while he was passing through Kolaroa-Khordo road.³²
- (2015) A series of clashes between activists of the BNP, ruling Awami League and law enforcers at different places across the country left at least four people killed and around 300 others injured, including dozens of law enforcers.³³

Violence Location(s):

- Kushtia (2001)
- Noakhali (2006)
- Chapainawabganj (2011)
- Chittagong (2015)

Casualties:

- 100+ (2001)
- 1000 (2003)
- 24 (2006)
- 40 (2007)
- 23 (2013)
- 4 (2015)

³¹ (2013). *Defence Journal*.

³² (February 28, 2014). "Security Analysis on the International, Regional and Domestic Fronts." *Defence Journal*.

³³ (January 6, 2015). "Dhaka cut off." *The New Nation (Bangladesh)*.

Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami (1999-1999)

Rivalry #1: Awami League (1991-2015)

Violence: (1999)

Notes: Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami→Awami League (1999)

- (1999) ...Planting a powerful time bomb allegedly to kill Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina and her cabinet members. A leader of Harkatul Jihad has been made the principal accused in the case. After the killing attempt was foiled, Hannan went into hiding.³⁴

Violence Location(s):

- Gopalganj (1999)

³⁴ (September 15, 2000). "20 Bangladeshis Charged with Planting Bomb to Kill PM." *Xinhua News Agency*.

Jam'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) (2003-2015)

General Group Notes: Possible alliance with Jamaat-E-Islami.

Rivalry #1: Awami League (1991-2015)

Threat: (2005, 2009, 2013)

Notes: JMB→Awami League (2005, 2013); Awami League (2009)

- (2005) Explosive experts visited the site of the recent suicide bombing and the police recovered a bomb planted inside a shop owned by a former municipality chairman of Netrakona while JMB threatened to kill former Awami League MP in Sirajganj for speaking against the spate of bombings.³⁵
- (2005) President of the Supreme Court Bar Association received a death-threat letter written allegedly by a member of the Jamaatul Mujahideen Bangladesh.³⁶
- (2009) There are currently a number of important trials pending against JMB members, and there have been death threats against judges and politicians of the Awami League.³⁷
- (2013) A senior intelligence official of the RAB said that JMB militants regrouped, targeting to kill BNP Chairperson Khaleda Zia, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, Awami League leader Suranjit Sengupta and Foreign Minister Dipu Moni.³⁸

Violence: (2005)

Notes: Awami League→JMB (2005)

- (2005) Cases were filed against the chief of the JMB for all the bomb blasts cases in Bangladesh during the past years, including the grenade attack on Bangladesh's Awami League in the capital last year, killing 23 and injuring several hundred.³⁹
- (2005) Last month former finance minister Shah AMS Kibria, along with four other people, were murdered at an Awami League rally. The authorities revealed that the

³⁵ (December 8, 2005). "Former Bangladesh intelligence official arrested for renting to terror suspect." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

³⁶ (August 25, 2005). "Roundup: Cases filed against JMB chief as manhunt goes on in Bangladesh." *Xinhua General News Service*.

³⁷ (September 17, 2009). "Ruling Awami League Official Killed in Bomb Attack in Bangladesh." IHS Global Insight.

³⁸ (2013). *Defence Journal*.

³⁹ (August 25, 2005). "Roundup: Cases filed against JMB chief as manhunt goes on in Bangladesh." *Xinhua General News Service*.

arrests had provided sufficient information to arrest Asadullah Ghalib; he heads the JMB.⁴⁰

Violence Location(s):

- Dhaka (2005)

Casualties:

- 23 (2005)

⁴⁰ (2005). *IHS global insight*.

Jamaat-e-Islami (Bangladesh) and student wing Islami Chhatra Shibir (1991-2015)

Rivalry #1: Awami League (1991-2015)

Denouncement: (2005, 2012, 2015)

Notes: Jamaat-e-Islami→Awami League (2005); Awami League→Jamaat-e-Islami (2012, 2015)

- (2005) The Jamaat leaders who addressed the rally were proclaiming the innocence of their party in response to the recurrent accusations that it was involved in the recent spate of bomb attacks and has close links with the militants. They were vociferously denouncing the main opposition party, Awami League.⁴¹
- (2012) The Awami League leader urged all to stay away from Jamaat-e-Islami as no welfare is possible with them. He claimed Jamaat has put the country in danger.⁴²
- (2015) The ruling Awami League has blamed the bomb attacks on Jamaat-e-Islami.⁴³
- (2015) Awami League leaders maintain the BNP-Jamaat-e-Islami alliance was trying to pave the way for an unconstitutional government by creating anarchy in the country.⁴⁴

Threat: (2012-2013)

Notes: Jamaat-e-Islami→Awami League (2012); Awami League→Jamaat-e-Islami (2013)

- (2012) Four cadres of Islami Chhatra Shibir (ICS) were arrested for threatening an Awami League (AL) lawmaker over the phone.⁴⁵
- (2013) The Dhaka City unit of the ruling AL vowed to resist the anti-liberation forces of JeI-ICS whenever and wherever they are found engaging in destructive activities...The AL city unit also declared it would make the soil of the country free again after eliminating JeI-ICS.⁴⁶

⁴¹ (December 29, 2005). "Bangladesh party condemns "so-called Islamists" Jamiat-ul-Mojahedin." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

⁴² (October 20, 2012). "Hanif wonders why Akbar Ali pleads for CG." *The News Today (Bangladesh)*.

⁴³ (October 24, 2015). "Hopes Hinge on Footage to Crack Shia Blast Mystery." *Financial Express*.

⁴⁴ (February 5, 2015). "Hasina dismisses possibility of imposing emergency." *The Statesmen (India)*.

⁴⁵ (November 30, 2012). "Security Analysis on the International, Regional and Domestic Fronts." *Defence Journal*.

⁴⁶ (March 31, 2013). "Security Analysis on the International, Regional and Domestic Fronts." *Defence Journal*.

Violence: (1992, 1998, 2006, 2010, 2012-2014)

Notes: Symmetric (2010, 2012-2014); Jamaat-e-Islami→Awami League (1992); Awami League→Jamaat-e-Islami (1998, 2006)

- (1992) Four activists of Awami League were killed and 150 injured in an attack by Islami Chhatra Shibir, the student wing of the Jamaat-e-Islami.⁴⁷
- (1998) A leader of Islami Chhatra Shibir was murdered at Sylhet Medical College by the activist of the ruling Awami League's student wing Bangladesh Chhatra League (BCL) in presence of police and the Principal of the College.⁴⁸
- (2006) Awami League activists allegedly murdered a Jamaat-e-Islami leader in Satkhira in western Bangladesh.⁴⁹
- (2010) The Awami League and Jamaat-e-Islami battled each other overnight after two activists from rival groups fought over entry of a student to his dormitory room.⁵⁰
- (2012) Two students died during the hour-long clash between activists of Bangladesh Chhatra League, the student wing of the Awami League, and Islami Chhatra Shibir, the student wing of the Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami.⁵¹
- (2013) At least two people have been killed and over 150 others were injured when Awami League activists clashed with supporters of BNP and Jamaat-e-Islami.⁵²
- (2013) At least 13 people were injured in a clash between the local cadres of Awami League (AL) and JeI.⁵³
- (2014) Rabiul Islam, general secretary of Swechhasebok League, the volunteer wing of AL was hacked to death by JeI and its student wing Islami Chhatra Shibir (ICS) cadres.⁵⁴
- (2014) An Islami Chhatra Shibir activist was killed and an Awami League (AL) activist injured in a clash.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ (May 10, 1992). "Opposition calls for strike to protest violence." *Xinhua General Overseas News Service*.

⁴⁸ (May 25, 1998). "2 killed as Shibir, BCL trade fire." *Associated Press International*.

⁴⁹ (October 31, 2006). "More deaths in Bangladesh as violence continues." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁵⁰ (February 9, 2010). "1 dead after student groups clash in Bangladesh." *Associated Press International*.

⁵¹ (February 8, 2012). "2 students killed in clash between Bangladesh's rival political groups." *Xinhua General News Service*.

⁵² (December 15, 2013). "Jamaat-Shibir avenge costs 10 more lives." *The New Nation (Bangladesh)*.

⁵³ (March 31, 2013). "Security Analysis on the International, Regional and Domestic Fronts." *Defence Journal*.

⁵⁴ (January 31, 2014). "Security Analysis on the International, Regional and Domestic Fronts." *Defence Journal*.

⁵⁵ (March 15, 2014). "Shibir activist killed in Bagerhat polls violence." *United News of Bangladesh*.

Violence Location(s):

- Sylhet Medical College (1998)
- Satkhira (2006)
- NW Bangladesh (2010)
- Nilphamari (2013)
- Diara Bazar (2014)

Casualties:

- 4 (1992)
- 1 (1998)
- 1 (2006)
- 1 (2010)
- 2 (2012)
- 2 (2013)
- 1 (2014)
- 1 (2014)

Pro-Hartal Activists (2012-2015)

Rivalry #1: Awami League (1991-2015)

Violence: (2013, 2015)

Notes: Symmetric (2013, 2015)

- (2013) Pro-hartal activists attacked the house of a local AL president.⁵⁶
- (2013) In Gaibandha, a clash between the hartal supporters and Awami League activists left 20 people injured.⁵⁷
- (2013) The pro-hartal activists set fire to five shops owned by Awami League men. Jamaat-Shibir men swooped on the houses of some Awami League leaders and activists and vandalised them.⁵⁸
- (2013) At least 10 activists and leaders including a pedestrian were injured in a clash and chase and counter chase between pro-hartal and pro-Awami League activists.⁵⁹
- (2013) A clash erupted when pro-hartal activists attacked an Awami League procession led by its district unit General Secretary. At least 10 AL leaders and activists were injured in the clash. In retaliation, AL activists vandalised the upazila BNP office.⁶⁰
- (2015) A clash between the activists of pro-hartal and blockade supporters and ruling Awami League activists left at least three injured.⁶¹
- (2015) Huge clashes between pro-hartal pickets and police backed by the Awami League (AL) have been reported in Dhaka. Riot police shot rubber bullets and lobbed tear gas shells to disperse stone throwing at pro-hartal activists who attempted to block roads.⁶²

Violence Location(s):

- Panbari; Jamalpur (2013)
- Palashbari upazila of the district (2013)
- Panbari in Patgram upazila (2013)

⁵⁶ (October 29, 2013). "Pro-hartal activists attack AL leader's house in C'nawabganj." *Bangladesh Government News*.

⁵⁷ (February 6, 2013). "Jamaat's 2nd day hartal passes off peacefully." *United News of Bangladesh*.

⁵⁸ (October 28, 2013). "Train derails in Lalmonirhat as pickets remove fish plates." *United news of Bangladesh*.

⁵⁹ (April 11, 2013). "AL-BNP clash in Jamalpur." *The New Nation*.

⁶⁰ (February 25, 2013). "Four killed, 50 injured in clashes between protestors, police in Bangladesh." *BBC Monitoring International Reports*.

⁶¹ (January 18, 2015). "Bomb costs bus helper's life the new nation."

⁶² (January 15, 2015). "One dead, dozens injured in Bangladeshi strike violence." *Xinhua News Agency*.

- Mostafirhat in Sadar upazila (2013)
- Nandina railgate area in Jamalpur sadar upazila (2013)
- Singair upazila in Manikganj (2013)
- Sirajgani in Sirajganj (2015)
- Dhaka (2015)

Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (2004)

General Group Notes: banned by government

Rivalry #1: Awami League (1991-2015)

Violence: (2004)

Notes: JMJB→AL (2004)

- (2004) Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB) is responsible for a number of killings and abductions in the north-west...The JMJB is also suspected of killing of a local opposition Awami League (AL) leader in the district.⁶³

⁶³ (February 24, 2005). "Government of Bangladesh Makes Timely Move to Ban Islamist Groups, Ahead of Aid Conference." *IHS Global Insight*.

Burundi

All Groups and Years:

Frolina (1997-1997)

Palipehutu-National Liberation Front (FNL) (1991-2014)

Military faction of the General Godefroid Niyombare (2015-2015)

CNDD-FDD (1994-2003)

Forebu (2015-2015)

Guardians of Peace (1997-2005)

Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) (1994)

Palipehutu-National Liberation Front (FNL)

Rivalry #1: CNDD-FDD

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

CNDD-FDD

Rivalry #1: Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF)

Violence

Guardians of the Peace

Rivalry #1: CNDD-FDD

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #2: Palipehutu-National Liberation Front (FNL)

Threat

Violence

Palipehutu-National Liberation Front (FNL) (1991-2014)

Rivalry #1: CNDD-FDD (1994-2003)

Denouncement: (1997, 2003)

Notes: Palipehutu→CNDD (1997, 2003)

- (1997) The extremist Hutu rebel group, Palipehutu, has condemned the CNDD for negotiating with Buyoya and promised to fight until the Tutsi military-backed government is overthrown.¹
- (1997) Palipehutu condemns CNDD for negotiating with the government of Maj.²
- (2003) The Palipehutu stated that the reasons that made them take up arms are still in place. They said they have nothing to learn from the CNDD.³
- (2003) Palipehutu blames the disappearances on its rival the CNDD. Palipehutu accuses the CNDD of massacring Hutu populations for allegedly being members of the Palipehutu-FNL.⁴

Threat: (1997, 2003)

Notes: Palipehutu→CNDD (1997, 2008); Symmetric (2003)

- (1997) Palipehutu has condemned the CNDD for negotiating with Buyoya and promised to fight until the Tutsi military-backed government is overthrown.⁵
- (2003) As long as the Palipehutu-FNL continues to attack the people, CNDD says they have no other choice but to defend the people.⁶
- (2003) Palipehutu-FNL has said it is ready to apply the principle of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth [against CNDD], but is holding back for the sake of civilians.⁷

¹ (September 18, 1997). "Burundi Authorities Arrest Hard-line Party Leader, Activists." *AP International*.

² (September 22, 1997). "Attackers Kill Six in Burundi." *AP International*.

³ (November 7, 2003). "Burundi's Rebel Palipehutu-FNL Rejects Offer to Join Peace Process" *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁴ (December 19, 2003). "Burundi Rebel Palipehutu-FNL Blames Rival Group for Disappearance of 5,000 Hutus." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁵ (September 18, 1997). "Burundi Authorities Arrest Hard-line Party Leader, Activists." *AP International*.

⁶ (November 10, 2003). "Fighting in capital between rebels, army - rebel spokesman." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁷ (December 19, 2003). "Burundi Rebel Palipehutu-FNL Blames Rival Group for Disappearance of 5,000 Hutus." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Violence: (1997-2001, 2003)

Notes: Symmetric (1997-2001, 2003)

- (1997) Palipehutu and CNDD have clashed in recent months because Palipehutu is opposed to negotiations between the CNDD and the government of Maj. Pierre Buyoya.⁸
- (1997) The CNDD and Palipehutu have clashed and civilians have been slain in cross fire.⁹
- (1997) A clash between the Palipehutu and CNDD left 214 guerrillas dead.¹⁰
- (1997) Ongoing clashes between Palipehutu and CNDD are resulting in prevailing insecurity at Gitenge, Muramba zone, Bubanza commune, Bubanza Province. As a result, six people died and 17 houses were set ablaze.¹¹
- (1997) Fighting between Palipehutu and CNDD was apparently sparked by the CNDD's decision to attend peace talks with military strongman Pierre Buyoya. One survivor said as many as 600 people had been killed in the fighting.¹²
- (1998) Bubanza has seen clashes between the Palipehutu and CNDD.¹³
- (1998) The CNDD has further been weakened by military clashes between it and the Palipehutu in the past three months.¹⁴
- (1998) "They (Hutu rebels) are no longer carrying out selective killings, they just kill for the sake of killing, Hutus and Tutsis alike, because the whole population is with the army," Nibizi said. 300 rebels raided Gahombo commune, killing 59.¹⁵
- (1999) There have been serious confrontations between the FNL and the CNDD-FDD in recent years, and there appears to be little cooperation at the moment.¹⁶

⁸ (September 26, 1997). "Hutu Rebels Kill 20 Tutsis in Burundi." *AP International*.

⁹ (November 7, 1997). "Military Source Says Rebels kill 14 people in southern Burundi." *AP International*.

¹⁰ (July 8, 1997). *Agence France-Presse*.

¹¹ (August 11, 1997). "Rival Hutu armed groups clash in the west." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

¹² (August 12, 1997). *Agence France-Presse*.

¹³ (January 1, 1998). "100 Civilians Dead After Burundian Rebels Attack Airport." *Agence France-Presse*.

¹⁴ (May 13, 1998). "Split in Rebel Movement." *IPS*.

¹⁵ (August, 17, 1998). *Inter Press Service*.

¹⁶ (December 29, 1999). "Politics-Burundi Military Leader Snubs..." *Inter Press Service*.

- (2000) Hutu rebel groups waging a campaign against the government have clashed with each other, with reportedly some 200 casualties. (World Markets Analysis)¹⁷
- (2001) The town of Makamba was attacked and several shops looted. Although most attacks in the Makamba region are attributed to the CNDD-FDD, the attackers were reported to be singing religious songs, something associated with the Palipehutu.¹⁸
- (2003) Gunfire was heard in the night during fighting between the FNL-Palipehutu and CNDD-FDD. Local residents say some rebels must have been killed or wounded given the large amounts of blood found on the battlefield.¹⁹
- (2003) Seven people including a teacher were killed during the week in Buvyuko zone.²⁰
- (2003) Fighting between the CNDD-FDD and FNL-Palipehutu has caused a large displacement of people. Selective kidnappings and assassinations are affecting the security situation. Three people were killed last night in Muhuta Commune.²¹
- (2003) The army observes the fighting, which has been going on between Palipehutu-FNL and CNDD-FDD.²²
- (2003) Military sources said that in Kibuye zone 29 people were killed in the last three weeks. The people had been accused of being members of CNDD-FDD. A Palipehutu-FNL spokesman said some of these people had hidden firearms on behalf of the CNDD-FDD.²³
- (2003) A group of terrorists from the FNL-Palipehutu have attacked neighborhoods north of the capital taking revenge on forces loyal to the CNDD-FDD. The criminals burnt

¹⁷ (2002). *World Market Analysis*.

¹⁸ (March 22, 2001). "Between Hope and Fear." *Africa News*.

¹⁹ (May 6, 2003). "Agency reports fighting between rebel groups, "large amounts of blood." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²⁰ (September 15, 2003). "Seven people killed in week long fighting between rebel groups." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²¹ (September 18, 2003). "Inter-rebel fighting displaces people, selective assassinations reported." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²² (September 22, 2003). "State moves to screen people in areas affected by inter-rebel fighting." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²³ (September 27, 2003). "Twenty-nine civilians killed over collaboration with rebel group." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

down 41 houses and the charred remains of two children who were asleep in the houses were found this morning.²⁴

- (2003) A grenade exploded yesterday in a bar, killing one person, a customs officer. According to military sources, the customs officer was not the target of this attack, which was connected to fighting between rebels belonging to the CNDD-FDD and Palipehutu-FNL.²⁵
- (2003) Six people were killed, eight wounded and several houses burnt during confrontations between the Palipehutu-FNL and CNDD-FDD.²⁶
- (2003) Eight people were shot dead. Witnesses say the killings were as a result of clashes between the CNDD-FDD and Palipehutu-FNL.²⁷
- (2003) The Palipehutu-FNL vehemently rejected negotiations with the government and clashed with the CNDD-FDD.²⁸

Violence Location:

- Cibitoke (1997)
- Bujumbura (2000, 2003)
- Makamba
- Nyamurenza
- Karusi
- Rwandan border (2003)
- Bubanza (1997, 2003)

²⁴ (October 3, 2003). "Burundi pro-Hutu rebels burn, loot houses in two separate attacks." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²⁵ (November 3, 2003). "Clashes continue near Burundi capital." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²⁶ (November 10, 2003). "Fighting in capital between rebels, army - rebel spokesman." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²⁷ (November 20, 2003). "Eight said shot dead in outskirts of Burundi capital after rival rebel clashes." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²⁸ (December 21, 2003). *Human Rights Watch*.

CNDD-FDD (1994-2003)

Rivalry #1: Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF)

Violence: (1995)

Notes: Symmetric (1995)

- (1995) A Burundian armed opposition movement, the Forces for the Defence of Democracy (FDD), led by former interior minister Leonard Nyangoma, is fighting the Tutsi army.”²⁹

²⁹ (1995). *Agence France-Presse*.

Guardians of the Peace (1997-2005)

Rivalry #1: CNDD-FDD (1994-2003)

Denouncement: (2000)

Notes: Guardians of the Peace→CNDD - FDD

- (2000) One of the Guardians of the Peace's child soldier's talked about the brutality of the rebels in CNDD-FDD in a public statement.³⁰

Threat: (2000)

Notes: Guardians of the Peace→CNDD-FDD

- (2000) "When I come across the attackers, I fight them with my weapon. They decimated my family in 1997. They made me an orphan, I have to fight them," he said.³¹

Violence: (2001)

Notes: Symmetric (2001)

- (2001) Four fighters of the rebel Forces for the Defence of Democracy have been killed in clashes with the Guardians of the Peace in southwest Burundi, the national press agency (ABP) reported Tuesday.³²

Violence Location:

- Bururi province (2001)

Casualties:

- 4 (2001)

³⁰ (May 21, 2000). "More Than 2,500 Armed Guardians of the Peace Emerge in South Burundi." *Agence France-Presse*.

³¹ (May 21, 2000). "More Than 2,500 Armed Guardians of the Peace Emerge in South Burundi." *Agence France-Presse*.

³² (May 15, 2001). "Four Rebels Killed in Clashes with Militia in Burundi." *Agence France-Presse*.

Guardians of the Peace (1997-2005)

Rivalry #2: Palipehutu-National Liberation Front (FNL)

Threat: (2001)

Notes: Palipehutu→Guardians of the Peace

- (2001) The “Guardians of Peace” said the attackers were Palipehutu rebels and that two of them were wounded when the group opened fire.³³

Violence: (2001)

Notes: Symmetric (2001)

- (2001) More than 200 Burundian rebels attacked a neighborhood on the northern edge of the central African nation's capital, killing two people, burning a military post and looting 50 homes, witnesses said Wednesday.³⁴

Violence Location:

- Buterere (2001)

Casualties:

- 2 (2001)

³³ (February 14, 2001). “Burundian Rebels Attack Northern Neighborhood in the Capital.” Associated Press International.

³⁴ (February 14, 2001). “Burundian Rebels Attack Northern Neighborhood in the Capital.” Associated Press International.

Cambodia

All Groups and Years:

Provincial and Village Militia (1990-1999)

Pro Government Vigilantes (1998)

Hun Sen Bodyguard Militia (1997)

Khmer Rouge (1990-1999)

KPNLF (1990-1991)

FUNCINPEC (1991-1997)

Khmer Rouge

Rivalry #1: Provincial and Village Militias

Violence

Rivalry #2: KPNLF

Denouncement

FUNCINPEC

Rivalry #1: Provincial and Village Militias

Violence

Khmer Rouge (1990-1999)

Rivalry #1: Provincial and Village Militias (1990-1999)

Violence: (1991-1995)

Notes: Symmetric (1991, 1993-1995); Khmer Rouge→Provincial and Village Militias (1992)

- (1991) Militiamen said that about 25 Khmer Rouge armed with mortars, machine guns, B40 grenade-launchers, and Ak-47 rifles entered the village on Dec. 23. The watchman of Koh Chhin commune said the village was shelled before the guerrillas entered.¹
- (1992) 100 Khmer Rouge soldiers abducted the militia chief of Roka Pou Pram village.²
- (1993) On 8th July, 100 Khmer Rouge troops from Division 616 split into two groups and attacked militia units defending two bridges.³
- (1993) On 16th June, about 30 Khmer Rouge soldiers from Division 802 attacked and robbed the people, and caused destruction in (Sok Yuos) village. The Khmer Rouge also executed a disabled soldier, arrested nine militia and took away nine weapons.⁴
- (1993) On 4th January, the guerrillas infiltrated the commune of Khcheay, Kampot Province and abducted two inhabitants. They also killed a member of the local militia of Sre Chea commune, Dang Tong district in the same province.⁵
- (1993) 8th August engaged in five raids to disarm militias.⁶
- (1993) The Khmer Rouge stepped up its attacks this week throughout the country. In the latest incidents, UN peacekeepers in the north yesterday came under heavy fire but escaped unhurt and two local militia were abducted in southern Kampot.⁷
- (1994) The Khmer Rouge has occupied the villages of Lok and Khyaun and is launching raids on villages and burning houses, particularly those belonging to the (village) militia.⁸

¹ (December 25, 1991). "Cambodians to Meet Amid Khmer Rouge Threats." *United Press International*.

² (December 31, 1992) "SOC Spokesman On Cooperation With Funicpec, Khmer Rouge Attacks." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

³ (July 19, 1993). "Khmer Rouge Forces Destroy Bridge in Kompong Thom." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁴ (June 23, 1993). "Khmer Rouge Attacks in Kompong Thom Reported." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁵ (January 19, 1993). "Khmer Rouge Accused of More Truce Violations." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁶ (August 12, 1993). "Phnom Penh Radio Reports Khmer Rouge Attacks 2nd-8th August." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁷ (August 21, 1993). "Aussies Pull Out for Fear of Khmer Attack." *Sydney Morning Herald*.

⁸ (November 11, 1994). "Khmer Rouge Step Up Attacks, Abduct Villagers." *Agence France Presse*.

- (1994) Ten people were killed in the ambush when 50 Khmer Rouge guerrillas detonated two mines under the train and then opened fire on it as it was passing through the Kampong Trach district. Six civilians, two soldiers and two train militia were killed.⁹
- (1994) In the past week, 20 Khmer Rouge guerrillas were killed in clashes with the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces and local militia.¹⁰
- (1994) Two battalions of army, police and militia forces were deployed to cut the guerrillas links with the world and force them down from their mountainside village.¹¹
- (1994) The deputy governor said that militiamen had killed eight Khmer Rouge guerrillas, when a force of about 70 attacked the village of Chay Rum Pot.¹²
- (1995) Local village militia clashed with the rebels, but no casualties were reported.¹³
- (1995) Khmer Rouge guerrillas killed a government soldier, a militia man and two villagers while three other villagers were injured in a rocket attack.¹⁴
- (1995) Cambodia's Khmer Rouge guerrillas shot dead a militiaman and seven train passengers near Phnom Penh in their second railway ambush in six months.¹⁵

Violence Location:

- Prek Kdam village (1991)
- Roka Pou Pram village (1992)
- Kompong Thom Province, Kampot Province (1993)
- Villages of Lok and Khyaun (1994)
- Battambang province (1995)

Casualties:

- 2 (1993)
- 20 (1994)
- 1 (1995)

⁹ (July 29, 1994). "Vietnamese Killed, Westerners Moved to Khmer Rouge Base." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁰ (June 24, 1994). "Guerrillas Die in Skirmishes." *Courier-Mail*.

¹¹ (August 10, 1994). "Hostages Facing Military Siege." *The Advertiser*.

¹² (September 20, 1994). "Foreigners on Alert for Khmer Rouge in Western Cambodia." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

¹³ (February 8, 1995). "Khmer Rouge Guerrillas Strike Again in Northwest Cambodia." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁴ (April 20, 1995). "Four Killed, Three Injured in Khmer Rouge Rocket Attack." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁵ (January 3, 1995). "Khmer Rouge Kill Eight in Bloody Train Ambush Close to Capital." *Agence France Presse*.

Khmer Rouge (1990-1999)

Rivalry #2: KPNLF (1990-1991)

Denouncement: (1991)

Notes: Khmer Rouge→KPNLF (1991)

- (1991) A Khmer Rouge report states about KPNLF leader Son Sann: "If he doesn't go along with us, he can become like a small dog nipping along behind at the paws of the large dog. Son Sann, whether he joins or does not join, too bad for him."¹⁶

¹⁶ (December 3, 1991). "Khmer Rouge Letters Write Off Son Sann Faction." *Agence France Presse*.

FUNCINPEC (1991-1997)

Rivalry #1: Provincial and Village Militias (1990-1999)

Violence: (1997)

Notes: Provincial and Village Militias→FUNCINPEC (1997)

- (1997) While Saotraek was eating with friends and family, the CPP-loyal deputy commander of the commune's militia burst into the home and shot him and four others. Three died on the spot. Guests and family rushed to get the two wounded to safety when a grenade was tossed into the crowd. One of the wounded was killed and five additional people were injured. The remaining victim was left to bleed to death in the street.¹⁷
- (1997) A Funcinpec soldier said he survived a mass execution carried out by a CPP commander. He and four other Funcinpec soldiers were returning to their base when they were seized and shot by the commander and his offiders. "I pretended I was dead but the other four were killed," said Po.¹⁸

¹⁷ (February 13, 1998). "Militia Role Scrutinized as Killings Increase." *The Phnom Penh Post*.

¹⁸ (February 21, 1997). "Factional Fighting Jolts the Northwest." *The Phnom Penh Post*.

Cameroon

All Groups and Years:

Democratic Front of the Central African People (FDPC) (2014-2015)

Seleka (2013-2015)

Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad (2009-2015)

Anti-Balaka Militia (2014)

Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) (2009)

Democratic Front of the Central African People (FDPC)

Rivalry #1: Seleka

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #2: Boko Haram

Denouncement

Violence

Anti-Balaka Militia

Rivalry #1: Seleka

Violence

Democratic Front of the Central African People (FDPC) (2014-2015)

Rivalry #1: Seleka (2013-2015)

Denouncement: (2014)

Notes: Symmetric

- (2014) Seleka demanded a power sharing division for the Central African People as a precondition to a peace agreement. FDPC complied with the Seleka demand.¹
- (2014) A member of the FDPC claimed he was attacked by a Seleka soldier.²

Violence: (2013-2014)

Notes: Symmetric

- (2013) FDPC clashed with Seleka in June 2013 which sustained heavy losses.³
- (2014) A member of the FDPC claimed he was attacked by a Seleka soldier.⁴

Violence Location:

- Western CAR (100km from Baboua)

¹ (2014). "Central Africa peace talks suspended after rebel no-show." *Agence France Presse*.

² (2014). "Central African Republic rebel chief pledges to lay down arms." *BBC Monitoring Africa*.

³ (2014). "Armed groups in CAR." *IRIN Africa Service (English)*.

⁴ (2014). "Central African Republic rebel chief pledges to lay down arms." *BBC Monitoring Africa*.

Democratic Front of the Central African People (FDPC)

(2014-2015)

Rivalry #2: Boko Haram

Denouncement: (2015)

Notes: FDPC→Boko Haram

- General Abdoulaye Miskine noted an increased presence of Boko Haram members in Northern Cameroon. He said he feared the suffering and fate of his people, confirming Boko Haram terrorists were located in the area.

Violence: (2015)

Notes: Symmetric

- There was consistent fighting between the FDPC and Boko Haram.⁵

Violence Location:

- Along Bouar Garoua-Boulai and Baboua-Abba- Biti.⁶

⁵ (2015). "Armed movement issues alert on Boko Haram's presence in CAR." *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*.

⁶ (2015). "Armed movement issues alert on Boko Haram's presence in CAR." *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*.

Anti-Balaka Militia (2014)

Rivalry #1: Seleka (2013-2015)

Violence: (2014)

Notes: Symmetric

- (2014) Reports also emerged that former Seleka fighters were attacking villagers along the border with Cameroon.⁷

Violence Location:

- (2014) Border with CAR.

⁷ (2014). *African Arguments*.

Central African Republic

All Groups and Years:

Military faction (forces of Andre Kolingba) (2001)

Forces of Francois Bozize (2002)

UFDR (2006)

CPJP (2009-2011)

anti-Balaka militia (2013-2015)

Seleka (2013)

Democratic Front of the Central African People (FDPC) (2014-2015)

Fulani militants (2014-2015)

Lord's Resistance Army (2009-2015)

Chadian Special Guard (2001-2002)

Liberators (2003)

African Rainforest and Rivers Conservation (2001-2002)

Anti-Balaka Militia

Rivalry #1: Seleka

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Anti-Balaka Militia (2013-2015)

Rivalry #1: Seleka (2013)

Denouncement: (2013)

Notes: Anti-Balaka Militia→Seleka (2013)

- (2013) An Anti-Balaka leader, Eric Zalo, stated that they are fighting the Seleka because of their “abuses against the civilian population.”¹

Threat: (2013)

Notes: Anti-Balaka Militia→Seleka (2013)

- (2013) Anti-Balaka threatened to further attack ex-Seleka forces.²

Violence: (2013)

Notes: Symmetric

- (2013) Seleka ousted President Francois Bozize, and the Anti-Balaka retaliated with attacks on Muslim civilians.³

Violence Location:

- Bangui (2013)
- Northwest Bossangoa (2013)
- Near Bouar (2013)

Casualties:

- 1,510 (2013)
- Almost 40 (2013)
- At least 30 (2013)
- Over 400 (2013)

¹ (2013). *Human Rights Watch*.

² (2013). “Regular Press Briefing by the Information Service March 8, 2013.” *States News Service*.

³ (2013). “Central African Republic.” *Amnesty International*.

Democratic Republic of the Congo

All Groups and Years:

Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL) (1996-1997)

Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC) (1998-2000)

Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) (1998-2001)

National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP) (2006-2008)

Bundu Dia Kongo (BDK) (1997-1998)

M23 (2012-2013)

Alliance of Patriots for a Free and Sovereign Congo (APCLS) (2013-2014)

Congo Armed Force Hallalujah/Allelujia (PARC-FAAL) (2011-2014)

Kata Katanga (aka Mai Mai Bakata Katanga Militia) (2013-2014)

Forces of Paul Joseph Mukungubila (2013-2013)

Patriotic Resistance Front in Ituri (FPRI) (2005-2015)

Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) (1998-2015)

Special Presidential Division (1978-1997)

Civil Guard (1984-1997)

White Legion (1997-1997)

Mai Mai (Mayi Mayi) (1998-2015)

Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALiR) (1998-2002)

Forces for the Defence of Democracy (FDD) (1998-2003)

National Liberation Forces (FNL) (1998-2003)

Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) (2005-2010)

Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) (2006-2015)

Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People (PALIPEHUTU) (2004)

Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL)

Rivalry #1: Special Presidential Division

Violence

Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC)

Rivalry #1: Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD)

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD)

Rivalry #1: Mai Mai

Violence

Rivalry #2: Forces for the Defense of Democracy (FDD)

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP)

Rivalry #1: Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR)

Violence

Rivalry #2: Mai Mai

Violence

M23

Rivalry #1: Alliance of Patriots for a Free and Sovereign Congo (APCLS)

Violence

Rivalry #2: Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR)

Violence

Rivalry #3: Mai Mai (Mayi Mayi)

Violence

**Alliance of Patriots for a Free and Sovereign Congo
(APCLS)**

Rivalry #1: Kata Kantanga (aka Mai Mai Bakata Katanga Militia)

Violence

Mai Mai (Mayi Mayi)

Rivalry #1: Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR)

Violence

FNL (National Liberation Forces)

Rivalry #1: Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD)

Violence

Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL) (1996-1997)

Rivalry #1: Special Presidential Division (1978-1997)

Violence: (1997)

Notes: AFDL→Special Presidential Division (1997)

- (1997) The Special Presidential Division collapsed in the face of Kabila's AFDL rebel campaign. After blasting a military camp on Kinshasa's eastern outskirts with artillery and mortar fire Friday evening, the rebels quickly seized N'Djili International Airport without a fight and began entering the city early this morning.¹
- (1997) Having assassinated General Mahele Bokungu, the army chief, at the approach of the rebels on Friday night, the elite Special Presidential Division failed to put up a fight.²
- (1997) AFDL members execute an alleged soldier of the Special Presidential Division.³

Violence Locations:

- Kinshasa (1997)

Casualties:

- 1 (1997)

¹ (May 18, 1997). "Zairian Rebels Occupy Capital With Ease; Kabila Proclaims Himself President." *The Washington Post*.

² (May 19, 1997). "Civilians of Kinshasa welcome their 'liberators'." *The Times*.

³ (May 20, 1997). "Boot's on other foot in Zaire: Mobutu followers being executed." *The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)*.

Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC) (1998-2000)

General Group Notes: MLC is backed by Uganda.

Rivalry #1: Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) (1998-2001)

Denouncement: (1998)

Notes: RCD→MLC (1998)

- (1998) The main rebel RCD says it wants nothing to do with Jean-Pierre Bemba, the self-styled leader of the MLC.⁴

Threat: (1999)

Notes: MLC→RCD (1999)

- (1999) Referring to the RCD, which has refused to sign the truce, a MLC leader told Reuters: 'If they do not sign within seven days, I will continue the fight to Kinshasa.'⁵

Violence: (2000)

Notes: RCD→MLC (2000); Symmetric (2001)

- (2000) Forces of the RCD tried to take Banalia, but were repulsed by the MLC, which controls north-western Congo. Dozens were killed.⁶

Violence Locations:

- Banalia (2000)

Casualties:

⁴ (November 16, 1998). "Y Politics-D.R. Congo: New Rebel Group Joins the Fray." *Inter Press Service*.

⁵ (August 2, 1999). "Peace of the Dead in Congo Forests; Despite Efforts to Secure a Ceasefire in Former Zaire." *The Guardian*.

⁶ (November 22, 2000). "Congolese Battle for Resources." *The Guardian*.

Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) (1998-2001)

General Group Notes: RCD is anti-Kabila and Tutsi, backed by Rwanda. RCD is in an HRW report, but no specific mention of a rivalry involving denouncement, threat, or violence, with another group in our coding sheet. They speak of MLC in the same report, but no incident to list.

Rivalry #1: Mai Mai (1998-2015)

Violence: (2000-2001)

Notes: Symmetric (2000, 2001); MaMai—RCD (2002)

- (2000) Kabila is supported by the Mai-Mai militia who have recently launched attacks on the RCD-Goma rebels and their Tutsi supporters in Lemera and Kiliba.⁷
- (2000) Serious fighting is going on in Makobola, between troops of the Goma-based Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD-Goma) and the Mayi-Mayi militia.⁸
- (2001) Civilians were displaced on October 23, 2001 because of continued fighting between the RCD and the Mai-Mai. Mai-Mai attacked an RCD position and then entered the village and began looting the houses.⁹
- (2001) The RCD and its Burundian and Rwandan allies are fighting against the government of President Kabila. They are fighting against armed opposition groups, including Congolese Mai Mai rebels, and their Burundian allies the FNL and the FDD.¹⁰

Violence Locations:

- Lemera and Kiliba (2000)
- Makobola (2000)

⁷ (April 14, 2000). "Congo Kinshasa: Rebels may scupper DRC Ceasefire Plans." *Africa News*.

⁸ (December 8, 2000). "Central Africa: IRIN-CEA Update 1,068 for the Great Lakes." *Africa News*.

⁹ (June 20, 2002). "The War Within the War." *HRW*.

¹⁰ (November 15, 2001). "Congo Kinshasa: Activist Detained and Beaten in Eastern DRC." *Africa News*.

Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) (1998-2001)

Rivalry #2: Forces for the Defense of Democracy (FDD) (1998-2003)

Denouncement: (2001)

Notes: RCD→FDD (2001)

- (2001) The RCD accused the Mai-Mai and Burundi's rebel Forces for the Defence of Democracy (FDD), both allies of the Kinshasa government, of staging the attack.¹¹

Threat: (1999)

Notes: RCD→FDD (1999)

- (1999) RCD's Joseph Mudumbi, said his movement would "fight Rwandan Hutu extremist militias, the Burundi Hutu rebels of the Forces pour la defense de la democratie FDD and the Uganda rebels using northern and southern Kivu provinces of eastern Congo as launching pads for their cross-border raids."¹²

Violence: (2000-2001)

Notes: Symmetric (2000-2001)

- (2000/2001) In the southern part of South Kivu, the Burundian army assists the RCD. Its soldiers are fighting along Lake Tanganyika against the Burundian rebel groups FDD and FNL which have bases on Congolese territory and which oppose the RCD...For several years RCD forces and their allies, the Rwandan and Burundian armies, have battled Mai-Mai, FDD, and FNL, for control of Fizi and Uvira territories.¹³
- (2000) About 200 Hutu rebels from Burundi attacked an eastern DRC border town early Thursday, killing one soldier. Many of the FDD were killed as RCD forces chased them in the hills.¹⁴
- (2000) Burundian FDD took the town of Lemera on Thursday after overcoming the joint RCD and Rwandan army defence.¹⁵

¹¹ (August 18, 2001). "Rebels accuse Kinshasa allies over attack on UN helicopter." *Agence France Presse*.

¹² (May 3, 1999). "Congo Kinshasa; Congolese Rebels Spell Out Conditions For Resumed Talks." *Africa News*.

¹³ (June 20, 2002). "The War Within the War." *HRW*.

¹⁴ (February 17, 2000). "URGENT--- Burundi rebels attack DR Congo border town." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁵ (April 12, 2000). "Central Africa; Great Lakes Update 901." *Africa News*.

- (2000) Several people have been killed in the Hauts Plateaux area following weekend attacks said to have been carried out by the Mayi-Mayi and Burundian rebels of the FDD. RCD-Goma authorities have said they will send reinforcements to the area.¹⁶
- (2000) According to the RCD, some 200 FDD fighters this week attacked a town under RCD control near the Burundian border.¹⁷
- (2001) Between 14 and 15 May 2000 RCD-Goma soldiers killed at least 44 unarmed civilians in the village of Katogota, in Uvira territory. The massacre apparently took place in reprisal for the killing of a senior RCD-Goma commander during clashes between the RCD-Goma and CNDD-FDD.¹⁸
- (2000) Attacks and ambushes have taken place lately, particularly along the Uvira-Bukavu and Uvira-Baraka roads. In the Ruzizi plain area of Uvira, about 49 people have reportedly been killed. There has been little resistance from the RDC forces.¹⁹
- (2001) Civilians have been displaced by combat between RCD and Mai-Mai and FDD forces beginning in mid-2001.²⁰
- (2001) In early September, the FDD, Rwandan Hutu militia and, allegedly, members of the Congolese armed forces (FAC), captured Fizi in South Kivu on Lake Tanganyika from the Rwandan-backed Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD), which controls the province.²¹
- (2001) The RCD and its Burundian and Rwandan allies are fighting against the government of President Kabila. They are also fighting against armed opposition groups, including Congolese Mai Mai rebels, and their Burundian allies the FNL and the FDD.²²

¹⁶ (July 26, 2000). "Central Africa; Great Lakes Update 975." *Africa News*.

¹⁷ (February 18, 2000). "Clinton, Chirac in satellite link-up to Burundi peace talks." *Africa News*.

¹⁸ (June 19, 2001). "Rwandese-controlled eastern DRC: Devastating human toll." *Amnesty International*.

¹⁹ (July 19, 2000). "Central Africa; Great Lakes Update 970." *Africa News*.

²⁰ (June 20, 2002). "The War Within the War." *HRW*.

²¹ (October 5, 2001). "South Africa; Troops for Burundi?" *Africa News*.

²² (November 15, 2001). "Congo Kinshasa: Activist Detained and Beaten in Eastern DRC." *Africa News*.

- (2001) RCD announced it had recaptured the strategic eastern town of Fizi, on the northwestern shore of Lake Tanganyika, after a week of heavy clashes with a coalition of forces from the Interahamwe, Mayi-Mayi, and FDD.²³
- (2001)The RCD military force simultaneously launched a several-day offensive in the central plateaux of the Ruzizi plain in the regions surrounding Lemera, Katobo and Rugeje, reported bastions of Mayi-Mayi and their reported allies, the Burundian rebel FDD. Over 30 individuals belonging to the "negative forces" were reportedly killed in the operation.²⁴

Asymmetric/Symmetric: Symmetric 3

Violence Locations:

- Lemera, between Uvira and Bukavu (2000)
- Uvira, Hauts Plateaux area (2000)
- Uvira, the shores of Lake Tanganyika (2000)
- Town of Fizi (2001)
- Ruzizi plain area (2000, 2001)
- Katagota (2001)

Casualties:

- 1 (2000)
- 1 (2001)
- 30+ (2001)

²³ (October 12, 2001). "Congo-Kinshasa; Namibia Will Not Send Troops Despite Continued Insecurity." *Africa News*.

²⁴ (June 8, 2001). "Congo-Kinshasa; RCD Increases Efforts to Quash Mayi-Mayi." *Africa News*.

National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP)

(2006-2008)

General Group Notes: Ant-government, Tutsi. Significant activity in Burundi.

Rivalry #1: Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) (1998-2015)

Violence: (2007-2008)

Notes: Symmetric (2007-2008)

- (2007) Clashes continued on Monday [3 September] morning in the Shasha sector, between a coalition comprising the 14th Brigade, the Echo Brigade, the Republican Guard, the FDLR and the Mayi Mayi, against troops from a battalion from the ANC/CNDP.²⁵
- (2007) The fighting began at 0500 [local time] on Saturday. In Bunagana, positions of dissident Gen Laurent Nkunda had been reportedly attacked by FDLR, said officials of the CNDP. This was confirmed by independent sources.²⁶
- (2008) The CNDP engaged in occasional combat with pro-government militias, including the PARECO and Mai Mai groups, as well as with a Rwandan armed group, the FDLR.²⁷
- (2008) The first division of the FDLR and Reserve brigade and Mayi Mayi launched a major offensive against CNDP positions Saturday morning along Masisi and Rutchuru axis in the areas of Sake, Ngungu, Katale, and Kashebere in Masisi territory.²⁸
- (2008) For the past two months, there has been fierce fighting in eastern Congo between Gen Nkunda's CNDP, government forces, and other rebel factions including elements of the Hutu-dominated FDLR.²⁹

²⁵ (September 5, 2007). "DR Congo clashes kill 67 government troops, 37 civilians - radio." *BBC Monitoring Asia*.

²⁶ (October 20, 2007). "DR Congo: Fresh fighting erupts in east, hundreds displaced." *BBC Monitoring Asia*.

²⁷ (December 11, 2008). "Killings in Kiwanja." *HRW*.

²⁸ (September 21, 2008). "Rwandan paper says DR Congo army 'joining hands' with Hutu militia to fight rebels." *BBC Monitoring Asia*.

²⁹ (November 16, 2008). "DR Congolese rebel leader vows to continue fighting government." *BBC Monitoring Asia*.

- (2008) Fighting erupted more than two weeks ago in Sud-Kivu between Laurent Nkunda's CNDP and a coalition of government forces, Rwandan rebels of the FDLR and other smaller militias.³⁰
- (2008) Laurent Nkunda, the leader of the CNDP rebels, has said that he is fighting to rid the region of the FDLR militia formed by Rwandans who fled their country after participating in the 1994 genocide.³¹
- (2008) A CNDP rebel stated that they retaliated against attacks by the DR Congo Armed Forces and the FDLR. They repulsed them until beyond Nyanzale because they reckoned that it is from their bases which are located at Kikuku and Nyanzale that they continue to disturb security in the areas under CNDP control.³²
- (2008) [Nkunda] We have not carried out any attacks against civilians, unless they are FDLR combatants who fled towards Uganda because armed men fled to Uganda taking their arms with them. There are armed men who took off their uniforms and fled pretending to be civilians.³³
- (2008) CNDP is making mention of attacks on its positions by the FDLR-Pareco coalition. In a communique issued today, Laurent Nkunda's CNDP says its positions were attacked by a coalition of Pareco/FDLR forces with the aim of making away with livestock in several farms and fields in the area.³⁴
- (2008) The FDLR are fighting alongside DR Congo government forces in the ongoing fighting between them and the CNDP that is led by Gen Laurent Nkunda.³⁵
- (2008) Reliable sources also indicate that a joint force of FARDC 8th military region supported by 4 battalions of PARECO, the first division of the FDLR and Reserve brigade and Mai Mai launched a major offensive against CNDP.³⁶

³⁰ (October 12, 2008). "UN Confirms Alliance Between DR Congo Army, Hutu Rebels." *BBC Monitoring Asia*.

³¹ (October 28, 2008). "UN fires on rebels as fighting flares in Congo." *The Daily Telegraph*.

³² (November 6, 2008). "Nkunda's rebels deny breaking cease-fire in eastern DR Congo." *BBC Monitoring Asia*.

³³ (November 27, 2008). "DR Congo rebel leader denies reports of attacks on civilians." *BBC Monitoring Asia*.

³⁴ (November 27, 2008). "Pro-government militias, Rebels Clash in Eastern DR Congo." *BBC Monitoring Asia*.

³⁵ (December 8, 2008). "Rwandan authorities censure UN mission in DR Congo over repatriation process." *BBC Monitoring Asia*.

³⁶ (November 21, 2008). "Congo-Kinshasa; Ceasefire Holds Despite Some Clashes." *Africa News*.

- (2008) Sunday's six-hour flare-up of fighting involved rebels led by renegade general Laurent Nkunda (CNDP) on one side and pro-government Mai-Mai militia and Hutu rebels of the FDLR.³⁷

Violence Locations:

- Rubaya/Ngungu/Kinigi axis (2008)
- Ngungu (2008)
- Bukina and Bunagana, Rutshuru territory (2007)
- Bukina and Bunagana (2008)
- Mweso (2008)
- Masisi - Sake, Ngungu, Katale, and Kashebere (2008)
- Masisi - Nyarububa, Mumba, Kanyenzuti, Kibabi and Kalonde (2008)
- Kiwanja (2008)
- Nyarububa, Mumba, Kanyenzuti, Kibabi and Kalonde localities (2008)

³⁷ (November 9, 2008). "New violence in eastern DR Congo ends: UN." *Agence France Presse*.

National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP)

(2006-2008)

Rivalry #2: Mai Mai (1998-2015)

Violence: (2007-2008)

Notes: Symmetric (2007-2008)

- (2007) Clashes continued Monday [3 September] morning in the Shasha sector, between a coalition comprising the 14th Brigade, the Echo Brigade, the Republican Guard, the FDLR, and the Mai Mai, against troops from a battalion from the ANC/CNDP.³⁸
- (2007) When fighting in Bunagana broke out at 0500 local time, the CNDP led by Laurent Nkunda said it was the FDLR that attacked its positions. The 8th military region then said the Mai-Mai combatants were responsible for the attack.³⁹
- (2008) The worst of the recent massacres, which took place in Kiwanja on November 4 and 5...an estimated 150 people were killed. Most of the victims had been executed by the CNDP after the rebel group repulsed an attack on the town by Mai Mai militia.⁴⁰
- (2008) The fighting that took place 80km north of Goma was between forces loyal to renegade general Laurent Nkunda and local pro-government Mai-Mai militia. Rebel spokesman Bertrand Bisimwa confirmed the clashes and said FDLR rebels and government forces had taken part in the fighting alongside the Mai-Mai.⁴¹
- (2008) Reliable sources indicate that a joint force of FARDC 8th military region supported by 4 battalions of PARECO, the first division of the FDLR and Reserve brigade and Mai Mai launched a major offensive against CNDP.⁴²

³⁸ (September 5, 2007). "DR Congo clashes kill 67 government troops, 37 civilians - radio." *BBC Monitoring Africa*.

³⁹ (October 21, 2007). "DR Congo: Relative calm follows fighting in east." *BBC Monitoring Africa*.

⁴⁰ (December 13, 2008). "International: Congo conflict: Rwandan and Congolese authorities fuelling humanitarian disaster, warns major UN report: Witnesses reveal army drive for child soldiers: Revelations make uneasy reading for aid donors." *The Guardian*.

⁴¹ (November 6, 2008). "Congo Clashes Threaten Peace." *Townsville Bulletin*.

⁴² (September 21, 2008). "Rwanda; War Rages in DRC as Government Forces Seek FDLR Support." *Africa News*.

- (2008) The latest fighting began in late October in the province of North Kivu in eastern DRC when a rebel group, the CNDP, engaged the Congolese army and Mai-Mai pro-government militias and captured territories close to Goma.⁴³
- (2008) Sunday's six-hour flare-up of fighting around Ngungu involved CNDP rebels on one side and pro-government Mai-Mai militia and FDLR rebels on the other.⁴⁴
- (2008) There were clashes between the Mai Mai Pareco and the CNDP. Seven members of the CNDP and two members of the Mai Mai were killed.⁴⁵
- (2008) The first took place in Katoro, where a short exchange of gunfire took place between the CNDP and the Mai Mai.⁴⁶
- (2008) Fighting has occurred between Nkunda's CNDP and pro-government Mai-Mai militia east of Kiwanja.⁴⁷

Violence Locations:

- 40km SW of Goma; Bunagana; Kiwanja; Rutshuru (2008)
- Territories close to Goma (2008)
- Border of Nord-Kivu and Sud-Kivu provinces (2008)
- Nord-Kivu province (2008)
- 3km east of Kiwanja (2008)

Casualties:

- 150 (2008)
- 9 (2008)

⁴³ (November 14, 2008). "BWAid Assists Displaced Persons in Congo." *Targeted News Service*.

⁴⁴ (November 10, 2008). "New front opens in DR Congo amid fears of wider conflict." *Agence France Presse*.

⁴⁵ (June 11, 2008). "Nine rebels killed in DR Congo clashes: UN." *Agence France Presse*.

⁴⁶ (November 21, 2008). "Congo-Kinshasa; Ceasefire Holds Despite Some Clashes." *Africa News*.

⁴⁷ (November 26, 2008). "Rebels violate DR Congo ceasefire: UN." *Agence France Presse*.

M23 (2012-2013)

General Group Notes: Hunde group. Eastern DRC, North Kivu. Anti-Tutsi.

Rivalry #1: Alliance of Patriots for a Free and Sovereign Congo (APCLS) (2013-2014)

Violence: (2013)

Notes: Symmetric (2013)

- (2013) Clashes between rebel groups in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo have left at least 80 people dead and approximately 100 people injured. M23 forces have re-occupied Kiwanja and Ruturu following Sunday's retreat by FARDC forces.⁴⁸
- (2013) This is the case of the last offensive by elements supposed to belong to the Alliance of Patriots for a Free and Sovereign Congo [APCLS] against M23 positions based in Kanyaruchina.⁴⁹

Violence Locations:

- Kanyaruchina, North Kivu province (2013)

Casualties:

- 80 (2013)

⁴⁸ (March 4, 2013). "UN: Rebel Clashes Kill 80, Displace Thousands in Eastern DRC." *Voice of America News*.

⁴⁹ (July 20, 2013). "DR Congo Crisis: Text of UN Mission's Weekly News Conference in Kinshasa." *BBC Monitoring Africa*.

M23 (2012-2013)

Rivalry #2: Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) (1998-2015)

Violence: (2013)

Notes: Symmetric (2013)

- (2013) M23 spokesman Amani Kabasha said that M23 had initially driven off an attack by the FDLR.⁵⁰
- (2013) The M23 contends that its positions were attacked (on July 6) by a coalition set up by the FARDC, a Mai Mai militia, and Rwandan rebels of the FDLR.⁵¹
- (2013) The spokesperson for M23 told this newspaper yesterday that serious fighting was ongoing and that his group was facing a joint offensive by FARDC and FDLR. Both Kinshasa and the M23 accused each other of provoking the fighting.⁵²
- (2013) Skirmishes between M23 and FDLR were a mass throughout the nation's capital.⁵³

Violence Locations:

- Route from Goma towards the shores of Lake Edward (2013)

⁵⁰ (May 20, 2013). "Congo's Army Clashes with Rebels Near Eastern City of Goma." *Times of Oman*.

⁵¹ (July 10, 2013). "DR Congo's M23 Rebels Accuse Army, Rwandan Militia of Carrying out Attacks." *BBC Monitoring Africa*.

⁵² (July 16, 2013). "Rwanda Protests 'Provocative Bombing' From DR Congo." *The New Times*.

⁵³ (December 1, 2013). "Congo-Kinshasa; Rebels on the Run." *Africa News*.

M23 (2012-2013)

Rivalry #3: Mai Mai (Mayi Mayi) (1998-2015)

Violence: (2012-2013)

Notes: Symmetric (2012-2013)

- (2012) Civil society bodies in Nord Kivu Province have reported that M23 rebel fighters have conquered new locations in Mbinza area. Most of these areas were under the control of the FDLR rebel group and local Mai Mai militia fighters.⁵⁴
- (2012) Reports from Nord Kivu stated that fighting was going on around Sake Location, south of Goma town. This ongoing fighting is between the M23 rebel fighters and a coalition of Mai Mai militia fighters and troops of the DR Congo Armed Forces.⁵⁵
- (2013) The UPDF has deployed at the Uganda-Democratic Republic of Congo border in Kanungu district following renewed fighting between Mai Mai militia and M23 rebels in Nyamirima. The Mai Mai and M23 are fighting for control of the borderline which has been inhabited by the former. The Mai Mai claim the area to be their ancestral land.⁵⁶
- (2013) The South African troops have been involved in two other clashes in the past week, sparked when another rebel group, the MaiMai, attacked a nearby M23 base. The M23 repelled the attack and the Mai Mai turned and started to shoot at civilians and the blue helmets [UN soldiers] to intimidate them.⁵⁷
- (2013) The South African troops were reportedly involved in two other clashes in the past week, sparked when another rebel group, the Mai Mai, attacked a nearby M23 base.⁵⁸
- (2013) The FARDC and their allies Mai Mai Nyatura and the FDLR attacked M23 positions in Mutaho.⁵⁹

Violence Locations:

⁵⁴ (October 7, 2012). "Civil Society Groups Say Rebels Take Control of Areas in Northeastern DR Congo." *BBC Monitoring Africa*.

⁵⁵ (November 25, 2012). "DR Congo Rebels Seek Direct Negotiations with President Kabila." *BBC Monitoring Africa*.

⁵⁶ (February 25, 2013). "Army Deploys at DR Congo Border." *New Vision (Kampala)*.

⁵⁷ (July 16, 2013). "SA Soldiers in the Middle of DRC Battle." *The Times (South Africa)*.

⁵⁸ (July 18, 2013). "Sandf Denies Soldiers Involved In DRC Battle." *South African Press Association*.

⁵⁹ (July 15, 2013). "DR Congo Army, Rebel m23 Clash 12km from Goma." *Philippines News Agency*.

- Mbinza (2012)
- Sake location (south of Goma) (2012)
- Nyamirima (2013)
- Goma (2013)
- Mutaho (2013)

Alliance of Patriots for a Free and Sovereign Congo (APCLS) (2013-2014)

General Group Notes: Hunde. Opposes Tutsi. Largely connected to Mai Mai group, alliance (except for interaction described below). Operates in the north-east of the DRC. Mostly interacted with UN forces.

Rivalry #1: Kata Kantanga (aka Mai Mai Bakata Katanga Militia) (2013-2014)

Violence: (2013)

Notes: Symmetric (2013)

- (2013) Fighting between two rival militia forces has killed at least 10 people in the Masisi territory of the east of Democratic Republic of Congo. Confirming the clashes, the administrator of the Masisi territory, Dieudonne Tshishiku, said the hospital at Mweso had reported 7 wounded and 10 dead: five civilians, three Sheka Mai-Mai and two APCLS fighters.⁶⁰

Violence Locations:

- Masisi territory (2013)

Casualties:

- 5 (2013)

⁶⁰ (October 1, 2013). *Cape Times (South Africa)*.

Mai Mai (Mayi Mayi) (1998-2015)

Rivalry #1: Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) (1998-2015)

Violence: (2009)

Notes: Symmetric (2009)

- (2009) In some cases the FDLR killed people they alleged to be supporters of its former allies, the Mai Mai.⁶¹
- (2009) Local Mai Mai fighters fought against the FDLR during the Congolese-Rwandan advance. When the FDLR returned, they took revenge against suspected Mai Mai.⁶²

⁶¹ (December 13, 2009). "You Will Be Punished." *HRW*.

⁶² (September 14, 2010). "Always on the Run." *HRW*.

FNL (National Liberation Forces) (1998-2003)

Rivalry #1: Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) (1998-2001)

Violence: (2001, 2003)

Notes: Symmetric (2001); FNL→RCD (2003)

- (2000/2001) In the southern part of South Kivu, the Burundian army also assists the RCD. Its soldiers are fighting along Lake Tanganyika against the Burundian rebel groups FDD and FNL which have bases on Congolese territory and which oppose the RCD.⁶³
- (2001) The RCD and its Burundian and Rwandan allies are fighting against the government of President Kabila. They are also fighting against several armed opposition groups, including Congolese Mai Mai rebels, and the FNL and the FDD.⁶⁴
- (2003) FNL rebels killed at least a dozen people in late August in Rusabagi... the RCD-Goma former rebel movement, now a part of a unified national government and military, reacted by firing shots in the air.⁶⁵

Violence Locations:

- Lake Tanganyika (2001)
- Rusabagi (2003)

Casualties:

- 12+ (2003)

⁶³ (June 20, 2002) "The War Within the War." *HRW*.

⁶⁴ (November 15, 2001). "Congo Kinshasa: Activist Detained and Beaten in Eastern DRC." *Africa News*.

⁶⁵ (September 5, 2003). "Congo Kinshasa: Burundi-rebels blamed for killing civilians in DR Congo." *Africa News*.

Egypt

All Groups and Years:

Popular Resistance Movement (Egypt) (2015)

Ajnad Misr (2014-2015)

Revolutionary Punishment Movement (2015)

Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) (2015)

Sinai Province of the Islamic State (2014-2015)

Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis (Ansar Jerusalem) (2013-2014)

Abdullah Azzam Brigades (2004-2014)

Muslim Brotherhood (1991-2015)

Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya (IG) (1991-1998)

Abu Nidal Organization (1990)

Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) (2014)

Takfir wal-Hijra (Excommunication and Exodus) (2011)

Muslim Brotherhood

Rivalry #1: Ajnad Misr

Denouncement

Rivalry #2: Sinai Province of the Islamic State

Denouncement

Rivalry #3: Abdullah Azzam Brigades

Denouncement

Rivalry #4: Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis

Denouncement

Sinai Province of the Islamic State

Rivalry #1: Hamas

Denouncement

Muslim Brotherhood (1991-2015)

Rivalry #1: Afnad Misr (2014-2015)

Denouncement: (2014)

Notes: Muslim Brotherhood → Afnad Misr (2014)

- (2014) A group calling itself Afnad Misr, or Soldiers of Egypt, claimed responsibility for the blast...Senior Brotherhood politician Amr Darrag condemned the violence at Cairo University on his Twitter account and said it showed the failure of the security forces to protect Egyptians.¹
- (2014) Jihadist groups such as the Sinai-based Ansar Beit al-Maqdis have claimed most of the attacks against the security forces...The authorities blame Morsi's Muslim Brotherhood for the attacks and have designated it as a "terrorist group." The Muslim Brotherhood, which swept all elections since the fall of Hosni Mubarak, denies this and regularly condemns attacks targeting security forces.²

¹ (April 3, 2014). "Bombs Kill Two, Including Police Officer, at Cairo University." *Defence Web*.

² (2014). *Agence France Presse*.

Muslim Brotherhood (1991-2015)

Rivalry #2: Sinai Province of the Islamic State (2014-2015)

Denouncement: (2015)

Notes: Symmetric (2015)

- (2015) Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis have on numerous occasions denounced the Brotherhood...They specifically left the [Brotherhood] because it was not adopting violent jihad. Some Egyptian government officials have accused the Muslim Brotherhood of carrying out attacks claimed by Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis, and have suggested the group has ties to the Brotherhood. The Brotherhood, which renounced violence decades ago, denies such charges, and has condemned the attacks.³

³ (February 6, 2015). " Hamas and the Nexus of Global Jihad." *Jerusalem Post*.

Muslim Brotherhood (1991-2015)

Rivalry #3: Abdullah Azzam Brigades (2004-2014)

Denouncement: (2005)

Notes: Muslim Brotherhood → Abdullah Azzam Brigades (2005)

- (2005) A suicide bomber blew himself up near tourists at Egypt's most famous museum yesterday while his sister and girlfriend opened fire on a bus. Two groups -- the Mujahideen of Egypt and the Martyr Abdullah Azzam Brigades -- said on an Islamist website that they carried out the attacks. Muslim Brotherhood deputy leader Mohammed Habib said in a statement that the organisation, the largest and most influential Islamist group in Egypt, condemned the attacks.⁴

⁴ (2005). *Proquest*.

Muslim Brotherhood (1991-2015)

Rivalry #4: Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis (2013-2014)

Denouncement: (2014)

Notes: Symmetric (2014)

- (2014) Some Egyptian media reported that the Sinai-based terror organization Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis was behind the incident. The Muslim Brotherhood condemned the attack; however, it tweeted that some of those killed were “Zionists.”⁵
- (2014) Some Egyptian government officials have accused the Muslim Brotherhood of carrying out attacks claimed by Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis, and have suggested the group has ties to the Brotherhood. The Brotherhood denies such charges, and has condemned the attacks...“Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis have on numerous occasions denounced the Brotherhood.”⁶

Sinai Province of the Islamic State (2014-2015)

Rivalry #1: Hamas (2015)

Denouncement: (2015)

Notes: Sinai Province of the Islamic State→Hamas (2015)

- (2015) The Jerusalem Post website reports that militants in Gaza attempted to fire a rocket at the Ashkelon region. The rocket fell inside the confines of Gaza. The attempted attack was claimed by Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis, also known as the Sinai Province of the Islamic State, a group that opposes Hamas rule of the Gaza Strip.⁷

⁵ (2014). *Jerusalem Post*.

⁶ (2014). *The Christian Science Monitor*.

⁷ (September 1, 2015). “Back to School.” *Mideast Mirror*.

Ethiopia

All Groups and Years:

EPRDF (1990-1991)

EPLF (1990-1991)

ONLF (1994-2015)

ARDUF (1996)

AIAI (1993-1999)

OLF (1990-2015)

IGLF (1991)

Harar garrison (1991)

Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya (IG) (1995)

Al-Shabaab (2007-2014)

Tigray militia (1998-2000)

Kebele militia (1990-1992)

People's militia (1990-2007)

EPRDF

Rivalry #1: OLF

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Kebele Militia

Rivalry #1: EPRDF

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #2: EPLF

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #3: OLF

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

EPRDF (1990-1991)

Rivalry #1: OLF (1990-2015)

Denouncement: (1991)

Notes: Symmetric (1991)

- (1991) OLF boycotted elections planned for the following year.¹
- (1991) OLF refused to surrender its weapons and submit to the authority of the EPRDF and accused EPRDF of supporting their rivals in the Oromo region.²
- (1991) OLF accused EPRDF of killing and imprisoning Ormos. EPRDF accused OLF of instigating conflict and engaging in subversive activities.³

Threat: (1991)

Notes: Symmetric (1991)

- (1991) EPRDF warned OLF of “renewed civil war” and threatened open declaration of war.⁴

Violence: (1991)

Notes: Symmetric (1991)

- (1991) EPRDF forces started offensive maneuvers against OLF forces.⁵
- (1991) EPRDF killed hundreds of OLF supporters.⁶

Violence Location:

- South and East Ethiopia (1991)

Casualties:

- Hundreds (1991)

¹ (1996). “The 1991 Transitional Charter of Ethiopia: A New Application of the Self-Determination Principle?” *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*.

² (1996). “The 1991 Transitional Charter of Ethiopia: A New Application of the Self-Determination Principle?” *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*.

³ (1992). “Ethiopia's peace threatened as feuding factions step up conflicts.” *Xinhua General News Service*.

⁴ (1992). “Ethiopia's peace threatened as feuding factions step up conflicts.” *Xinhua General News Service*.

⁵ (1992). “Factions in Ethiopia.” *Washington Post*.

⁶ (1996). “The 1991 Transitional Charter of Ethiopia: A New Application of the Self-Determination Principle?” *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*.

Kebele Militia (1990-1992)

Rivalry #1: EPRDF (1990-1991)

Denouncement: (1990, 1991)

Notes: Kebele Militia → EPRDF (1990, 1991)

- (1990, 1991) Kebele Militia formed to arrest and try suspects accused of supporting rebel groups, including EPRDF.⁷

Threat: (1990, 1991)

Notes: Kebele Militia → EPRDF (1990, 1991)

- (1990, 1991) Kebele Militia met to discuss how to “eliminate” enemies of the state.⁸

Violence: (1990, 1991)

Notes: Kebele Militia → EPRDF (1990, 1991)

- (1990, 1991) Much of the violence against EPRDF was perpetrated by Kebele Militia.⁹

Violence Location:

- All regions (1990, 1991)

⁷ (1991). “US Urges Americans to Quit Ethiopia as Rebels Gain.” *New York Times*.

⁸ (1999). “South Africa; the Butcher SA Plays Host to Ivor Powell.” *Africa News*.

⁹ (1999). “South Africa; the Butcher SA Plays Host to Ivor Powell.” *Africa News*.

Kebele Militia (1990-1992)

Rivalry #2: EPLF (1990-1991)

Denouncement: (1990, 1991)

Notes: Kebele Militia → EPLF (1990, 1991)

- (1990, 1991) Kebele Militia formed to arrest and try suspects accused of supporting rebel groups.¹⁰

Threat: (1990, 1991)

Notes: Kebele Militia → EPLF (1990, 1991)

- (1990, 1991) Kebele Militia met to discuss how to “eliminate” enemies of the state.¹¹

Violence: (1990, 1991)

Notes: Kebele Militia → EPLF (1990, 1991)

- (1990, 1991) Much of the violence against rebel groups was perpetrated by Kebele Militia.¹²

Violence Location:

- All regions (1990, 1991)

¹⁰ (1991). “US Urges Americans to Quit Ethiopia as Rebels Gain.” *New York Times*.

¹¹ (1999). “South Africa; the Butcher SA Plays Host to Ivor Powell.” *Africa News*.

¹² (1999). “South Africa; the Butcher SA Plays Host to Ivor Powell.” *Africa News*.

Kebele Militia (1990-1992)

Rivalry #3: OLF (1990-1991)

Denouncement: (1990, 1991)

Notes: Kebele Militia → OLF (1990, 1991)

- (1990, 1991) Kebele Militia formed to arrest and try suspects accused of supporting rebel groups.¹³

Threat: (1990, 1991)

Notes: Kebele Militia → OLF (1990, 1991)

- (1990, 1991) Kebele Militia met to discuss how to “eliminate” enemies of the state.¹⁴

Violence: (1990, 1991)

Notes: Kebele Militia → OLF (1990, 1991)

- (1990, 1991) Much of the violence against rebel groups was perpetrated by Kebele Militia.¹⁵

Violence Location:

- All regions (1990, 1991)

¹³ (1991). “US Urges Americans to Quit Ethiopia as Rebels Gain.” *New York Times*.

¹⁴ (1999). “South Africa; the Butcher SA Plays Host to Ivor Powell.” *Africa News*.

¹⁵ (1999). “South Africa; the Butcher SA Plays Host to Ivor Powell.” *Africa News*.

India

All Groups and Years:

Al-Fatah (1991)

Al-Mansoorian (2002-2007)

Al-Umar Mujahideen (1998-2014)

Al-Ummah (1991-2002)

All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) (1992-2009)

ABSU (1990)

Black Widows (2007-2009)

Communist Party of India – Maoist (CPI-Maoist) (2005-2015)

Communist Party of India- Marxist (1991-2014)

CPI-ML-J (2000)

Coordination Committee (CORCOM) (2012-2014)

Dima Halao Daoga (DHD) (1999-2010)

Garo National Liberation Army (2010-2015)

Harkat ul Ansar (1994-1997)

Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami (2002-2011)

Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) (1990-2015)

Indian Mujahideen (2008-2013)

Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) (2000-2015)

Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) (2015)

Jamaat-E-Islami (India/Pakistan) (1995)

Jamiat ul-Mujahedin (JuM) (1996-2013)

Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (1990-1996)

Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO) (2000-2015)

Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP) (2006-2014)
Karbi Longri North Cachar Liberation Front (KKLNLF) (2006-2009)
KNF (1997)
Karbi People's Liberation Tigers (KPLT) (2011-2014)
Lashkar-e-Islam (India) (2015)
Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (2001)
Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) (1999-2015)
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (1990-2010)
Maoist Communist Center (MCC) (1992-2009)
Muslim Brotherhood (1991-1992)
National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) (1992-2015)
NDFB-RD (2009-2010)
NDFB-S (2013-2014)
National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) (1992-2015)
NLFT-B (2004)
National Socialist Council of Nagaland (1992-1999)
National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah (NSCN-IM) (1992-2015)
National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang (NSCN-K) (2008-2015)
New People's Army (NPA) (2010)
People's Committee against Police Atrocities (PCPA) (2009-2011)
People's Liberation Army (India) (1995-2015)
People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) (2003-2013)
PULF (2008)
People's War Group (PWG) (1990-2004)
Ranbir Sena (1996-2000)
Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) (2001-2015)

United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) (1990-2015)

United National Liberation Front (UNLF) (1993-2015)

UNLFW (2015)

Village Defence Force Punjab (1990-1993)

Village Defence Committee Kashmir (1996-2007)

Village Defence Committee Himachal (1998-2007)

Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon (1994-2007)

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (1990-2003)

Home Guard (1990-2007)

Salwa Judum (2005-2007)

Al Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF)

Rivalry #1: National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT)

Denouncement

Violence

Communist Party of India - Maoist

Rivalry #1: National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang (NSCN-K)

Denouncement

Rivalry #2: Home Guard

Violence

Rivalry #3: Salwa Judum

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #4: United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)

Denouncement

National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah

Rivalry #1: National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #2: United Liberation Front of Assam

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #3: Karbi People's Liberation Tigers (KPLT)

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #4: United National Liberation Front (UNLF)

Denouncement

Communist Party of India - Marxist

Rivalry #1: AI Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF)

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #2: National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT)

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #3: Communist Party of India - Maoist

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #4: People's Committee Against Police Atrocities (PCPA)

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #5: Coordination Committee (CORCOM)

Denouncement

Rivalry #6: Indian Mujahideen

Denouncement

Rivalry #7: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)

Denouncement

Rivalry #8: National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB)

Denouncement

Rivalry #9: Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #10: ULFA

Denouncement

Rivalry #11: Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO)

Violence

Rivalry #12: Maoist Communist Center (MCC)

Violence

Rivalry #13: People's War Group (PWG)

Violence

Hizbul Mujahedin

Rivalry #1: Jamiat ul-Mujahedin

Denouncement

Rivalry #2: Jaish-e-Mohammad

Denouncement

Rivalry #3: Al-Mansoorian

Denouncement

Rivalry #4: Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami

Violence

Rivalry #5: Jamaat i Islami

Violence

Rivalry #6: Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #7: Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT)

Violence

Rivalry #8: Harakat ul Ansar

Denouncement

Rivalry #9: Ikwhan-ul-Muslimoon

Denouncement

Threat

Muslim Brotherhood

Rivalry #1: Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front

Threat

Rivalry #2: Hizbul Mujahideen

Threat

Lashkar-e-Islam

Rivalry #1: Hizbul Mujahideen

Denouncement

Rivalry #2: Lashkar-e-Taiba

Denouncement

Rivalry #3: Jaish-e-Mohammed

Denouncement

Lashkar-e-Taiba

Rivalry #1: Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

Threat

Ranbir Sena

Rivalry #1: Maoist Communist Center

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #2: People's War Group

Violence

National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB)

Rivalry #1: Home Guard

Violence

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

Rivalry #1: Students Islamic Movement of India

Denouncement

Rivalry #2: National Liberation Front of Tripura

Denouncement

United Liberation Front of Assam

Rivalry #1: Home Guard

Violence

Black Widow

Rivalry #1: Dima Halao Daoga (DHD)

Denouncement

Maoist Communist Center

Rivalry #1: People's War Group

Violence

Al Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) (1992-2009)

Rivalry #1: National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) (1992-2015)

Denouncement: (2002-2003)

Notes: NLFT→ATTF (2002); ATTF→NLFT (2003)

- (2002) NLFT's rival, ATTF, apparently collected some subscriptions from villagers in an area where both groups resided, irking NLFT, who then decided to attack.¹
- (2003) The ATTF called for a boycott of an election in Tripura, India and NLFT.²

Violence: (1992-2003)

Notes: Symmetric (1992-2003)

- (1992-2003) According to reports, thousands died in Tripura from 1992-2003 due to rivalries between sworn enemies ATTF and NLFT.³
- (2001) 5 militants were killed in an encounter between the NLFT and its rival rebel group, ATTF at the village of Sidhai, presumably for territorial supremacy. The source claims such clashes are commonplace.⁴
- (2002) ATTF militants killed four members of the NLFT at Ramachandrahaht in West Tripura.⁵
- (2002) In another incident, ATTF militants shot dead an NLFT insurgent at Manu village in Dhalai district.⁶
- (2003) Two NLFT rebels were killed in a confrontation with ATTF separatists.⁷

Violence Location:

- Tripura (1992-2003)
- Sidhai (2001)
- Ramachandrahaht (2002)

¹ (January 14, 2002). "Tribal rebels gun down 17 at market in northeast India." *Agence France Presse*.

² (February 18, 2003) "India: Insurgent violence casts shadow over Tripura poll." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

³ (January 28, 2003). "Tribal separatists warn voters to boycott Indian state election." *Agence France Presse*.

⁴ (March 3, 2001). "17 killed in ambush in India's northeast." *Agence France Presse*.

⁵ (April 8, 2002). Secessionist group kills five rivals in northeastern India. *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁶ (April 8, 2002). Secessionist group kills five rivals in northeastern India. *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁷ (November 16, 2003). Seven militants killed in India's northeast. *Agence France Presse*.

- Manu village (2002)

Casualties:

- 5 (2001)
- 4 (2002)
- 1 (2002)
- 2 (2003)

Communist Party of India - Maoist (2005-2015)

Rivalry #1: National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang (NSCN-K) (2008-2015)

Denouncement: (2011)

Notes: NSCN-K→CPI-Maoists

- (2011) NSCN-K denounced CPI-Maoists moving into Myanmar.⁸

⁸ (November 19, 2011). "Maoist bid for Myanmar haven fails." *The Times of India (TOI)*.

Communist Party of India - Maoist (2005-2015)

Rivalry #2: Home Guard (1990-2007)

Violence: (2005)

Notes: Communist Party of India - Maoist→Home Guards (2005)

- (2005) Naxalites attacked the Home Guard Training Centre in Giridih and looted the armoury.⁹

Violence Location:

- Giridih (2005)

⁹ (November 28, 2005). "Maoed Down." *India Today*; (December 1, 2005). "Absentee landlords." *Hindustan Times*.

Communist Party of India - Maoist (2005-2015)

Rivalry #3: Salwa Judum (2005-2007)

Denouncement: (2006-2007)

Notes: Symmetric (2006-2007)

- (2006) CPI Maoists created degrading slogans against Salwa Judum, like “Down With Salwa Judum” and “Stop Corrupting Adivasi Culture” to Make it Market Culture Under the Guise of Tourism.¹⁰
- (2007) The leader of Salwa Judum, Mahendra Karma, called the CPI Maoists the greatest threat to Indian democracy.¹¹

Violence: (2005-2006)

Notes: Salwa Judum→CPI-M (2005); CPI-M→Salwa Judum (2006)

- (2005) Salwa Judum, launched armed operations against “Maoist rebels.”¹²
- (2006) CPI Maoists set off a landmine blast targeting a truck that killed at least 25 people and injured more than 50. The truck was carrying people in Dantewada district of Chhattisgarh on their way home from a Salwa Judum camp.¹³
- (2006) In March, armed CPI Maoists cordoned off a village and assaulted the villagers, killing four, for opposing them and participating with Salwa Judum.¹⁴
- (2006) In the month of April, CPI Maoists abducted 50 members of Salwa Judum and murdered 13 of them.¹⁵
- (2006) In June, CPI Maoists kidnapped nine tribal villagers from Basagura, suspecting them of being members of the Salwa Judum movement, and beat three of them to death. The next day, a tribal man was shot dead in Gangloor.¹⁶

¹⁰ (May 13, 2006). “India's Ragtag Band of Maoists Takes Root Among Rural Poor.” *TechNews*.

¹¹ (May 1, 2007). “In heart of India, a little-known civil war.” *Christian Science Monitor*.

¹² no source listed

¹³ (March 17, 2006). “Chhattisgarh Govt. risking civilian lives through anti-Naxal camps: ACHR.” *Hindustan Times*; (March 31, 2006). “Naxals kill two BJP leaders in Chhattisgarh.” *Hindustan Times*; (April 17, 2006). “Guns And Postures.” *India Today*.

¹⁴ (March 31, 2006). “Naxals kill two BJP leaders in Chhattisgarh.” *Hindustan Times*.

¹⁵ (May 13, 2006). “India's Ragtag Band of Maoists Takes Root Among Rural Poor.” *TechNews*.

¹⁶ (June 24, 2006). “Four tribals killed by Maoists in Chhattisgarh.” *Indo-Asian News Service*; (June 24, 2006). “Maoists kill four tribals in Chhattisgarh.” *Hindustan Times*.

- (2006) In July, CPI Maoists killed a senior Salwa Judum worker.¹⁷
- (2006) In September, CPI Maoists killed three senior Salwa Judum cadres in a landmine explosion in Dantewada district's Usoor police station area. Later, a man was dragged out of his home and shot dead.¹⁸

Violence Location:

- Chhattisgaarh District (2006)
- Basagura (2006)
- Dantewada district's Usoor police station area (2006)

Casualties:

- 25+ (2006)
- 13 (2006)
- 3 (2006)
- 1 (2006)
- 3 (2006)

¹⁷ (July 11, 2006). "Maoists kill two in Chhattisgarh." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

¹⁸ (October 3, 2006). "Maoists kill four Chhattisgarh civil militia cadres." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

Communist Party of India - Maoist (2005-2015)

Rivalry #4: United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) (1990-2015)

Denouncement: (2011)

Notes: CPI-Maoist→ULFA (2011)

- (2011) The CPI-Maoist leader called on ULFA to “stop attacking the Indian proletariat.”¹⁹

¹⁹ (October 31, 2011). “Maoists: Filling the Void.” *IBNS*.

National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah (1992-2015)

Rivalry #1: National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang (2008-2015)

Denouncement: (2008, 2010-2011, 2013, 2015)

Notes: IM→K (2008, 2010); Symmetric (2011, 2015); K→IM (2013)

- (2008) NSCN-IM opposed opening of new NSNC-K camps within Dimapur district.²⁰
- (2010) NSCN-IM issued a statement denouncing NSCN-K's attempts to hold political dialogue with the Indian government.²¹
- (2011) NSCN-K claimed NSCN-IM kills Naga brethren.²²
- (2011) Both groups accused each other of delaying the peace process and inciting violence.²³
- (2013) NSCN-K accused NSCN-IM as being the "mother of all taxation."²⁴
- (2015) NSCN-IM and NSCN-K were accusing each other of working for the government of India.²⁵

Violence: (2008-2015)

Notes: Symmetric (2001-2015)

- (2001-2012) There were at least 10 clashes between NSCN IM and NSCN K in Arunachal Pradesh from 2001-2012 resulting in 48 killings and at least 17 injured.²⁶
- (2008) Official sources said at least two NSCN IM cadres were killed and three others injured due to inter-factional clashes between these rival outfits in Dimpaur district and Rotomi village.²⁷

²⁰ (2008). "Rio Demands Full-time Chief Of Ceasefire Monitoring Panel." *Hindustan Times*.

²¹ (March 1, 2010). "Ahead of talks, Naga rebel leader sticks to sovereignty." *The Pioneer (India)*.

²² (January 1, 2011). "NSCN (K) claims responsibility of attack on rival camp in AP." *UNI (United News of India)*.

²³ (March 4, 2011). "Peace bid flops, Muivah blames Khaplang." *The Times of India (TOI)*.

²⁴ (June 17, 2013). "Amid opposition, NSCN(IM) says all must pay 'tax for Nagalim cause'." *Indian Express*.

²⁵ (August 4, 2015). "All you need to know about 'mother of all insurgencies' NSCN-IM." *DNA*.

²⁶ (July 30, 2008). "Two Nscn-im Cadres Killed, Three Injured In Factional Clash." *Uni (United News Of India)*.

²⁷ (July 30, 2008). "Two Nscn-im Cadres Killed, Three Injured In Factional Clash." *Uni (United News Of India)*.

- (2008) The rival factions engaged in a fierce gun battle at Ghokuto village, a few kms from NSCN K's proposed designated camp at Khehoi, but no casualties were reported.²⁸
- (2010) At least two NSCN IM cadres were killed and another five injured when the NSCN K cadres uprooted the only NSCN IM camp at Khamlang village under Changlang District in Arunachal Pradesh.²⁹
- (2011) An NSCN IM cadre was killed when they attacked an NSCN K-owned camp near Old Thewati village in Phek District.³⁰
- (2011) A fierce shootout was reported between NSCN IM and NSCN K cadres at Kothin, 35 km off Kohnsa, the District headquarters of Tirap District.³¹
- (2012) NSCN IM claimed that two NSCN K militants were killed and four injured when the latter attacked the former's camp in Chasha village in Tirap District, Arunachal Pradesh.³²
- (2012) 30 NSCN IM and 5 NSCN K cadres were killed.³³
- (2013) NSCN IM attacked NSCN K resulting in a gun battle that left two dead civilians, three dead NSCN K cadres, and one ZUF cadre. A few hours later, an NSCN IM leader was killed in an apparent revenge attack by the NSCN K.³⁴
- (2013) In August, two people were shot dead including an NSCN IM cadre at Nungkao, under the Tousem Police Station, Tamenglong District.³⁵
- (2013) In October, a civilian was killed in crossfire between NSCN K and NSCN IM at Tamenglong District headquarters.³⁶
- (2013) In April, suspected cadres of NSCN IM shot dead NSCN K's public relations officer on the Aziuram Road in Tamenglong District.³⁷

²⁸ (July 30, 2008). "Two Nscn-im Cadres Killed, Three Injured In Factional Clash." *Uni (United News Of India)*.

²⁹ (April 13, 2011). "The challenge of peace." *Political & Business Daily (India)*.

³⁰ (December 12, 2011). "Nagaland: The Vanity of Hope." *South Asian Intelligence Review (IBNS)*.

³¹ (December 12, 2011). "Nagaland: The Vanity of Hope." *South Asian Intelligence Review (IBNS)*.

³² (April 16, 2012). "Naga Factionalism Escalates." *South Asian Intelligence Review (IBNS)*.

³³ (October 8, 2012). "Arunachal Pradesh: Loose Ends." *South Asian Intelligence Review (IBNS)*.

³⁴ (June 11, 2013). "Manipur: Naga Turf Battles." *India Blooms*.

³⁵ (June 11, 2013). "Manipur: Naga Turf Battles." *India Blooms*.

³⁶ (June 11, 2013). "Manipur: Naga Turf Battles." *India Blooms*.

³⁷ (June 11, 2013). "Manipur: Naga Turf Battles." *India Blooms*.

- (2014) In February, the two groups fought a gun battle in Tamenglong district.³⁸
- (2014) In March, NSCN-IM ambushed a NSCN-K group in the jungle.³⁹
- (2015) In May, five suspected militants of NSCN K were killed in a factional clash with suspected cadres of NSCN IM at Lungsaimai village in Tamenglong District after NSCN K militants launched an attack on NSCN IM cadres.⁴⁰

Violence Location:

- Arunachal Pradesh (2001-2012)
- Dimpaur District and Rotomi Village (2008)
- Ghokuto Village (2008)
- Khamlang village under Changlang District in Arunachal Pradesh (2010)
- Old Thewati Village in Phek District (2011)
- Kothin (2011)
- Chasha village, Tirap District, Arunachal Pradesh (2012)
- Tousem Police Station, Tamenglong District (2013)
- Tamenglong District Headquarters (2013)
- Aziuram Road in Tamenglong District (2013)
- Tamenglong District (2014)
- Lungsaimai village in Tamenglong district (2015)

Casualties:

- 48 (2001-2012)
- 2 (2008)
- 2+ (2010)
- 1 (2011)
- 2 (2012)
- 35 (2012)
- 3 (2012)
- 1 (2012)

³⁸ (February 4, 2014). "Militants clash at Tamenglong, two bombs found." *UNI (United News of India)*.

³⁹ (March 30, 2014). "Nagaland villagers chase away NSCNs cadres for exchange firing." *UNI (United News of India)*.

⁴⁰ (December 7, 2015). "Manipur: Endless Turf Wars." *India Blooms*.

- 1 (2013)
- 1 (2013)
- 5 (2015)

National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah (1992-2015)

Rivalry #2: United Liberation Front of Assam (1990-2015)

Denouncement: (2007)

Notes: ULFA→NSCN-IM (2007)

- (2007) ULFA accused NSCN-IM of encroaching on Assam in hopes of creating a greater Nagalim.⁴¹
- (2007) ULFA also publicly claimed that NSCN-IM killed two of their members.⁴²

Threat: (2007)

Notes: Symmetric (2007)

- (2007) ULFA cadre and an NSCN IM militant were killed in a gun-battle between the two outfits at Namtola in Mon district of Nagaland after a group of ULFA cadres accidentally entered NSCN IM-dominated areas. This prompted the NSCN IM insurgents to fire, provoking retaliation by the ULFA cadres who then threatened thh NSCN IM with violence if it failed to hand over seven abducted ULFA cadres within three days.⁴³

Violence: (2007)

Notes: Symmetric (2007)

- (2007) ULFA cadre and an NSCN IM militant were killed in a gun-battle between the two outfits at Namtola in Mon district of Nagaland after a group of ULFA cadres accidentally entered NSCN IM-dominated areas. This prompted the NSCN IM insurgents to fire, provoking retaliation by the ULFA cadres who then threatened thh NSCN IM with violence if it failed to hand over seven abducted ULFA cadres within three days.⁴⁴

Violence Location:

- Namtola in Mon district of Nagaland (2007)

Casualties:

⁴¹ (November 23, 2007). "ULFA-NSCN (IM) TUSSELE CONTINUES." *Hindustan Times*.

⁴² (November 23, 2007). "ULFA-NSCN (IM) TUSSELE CONTINUES." *Hindustan Times*.

⁴³ (November 12, 2007). "NSCN takes faction feud to next level, attacks Ulfa." *Hindustan Times*.

⁴⁴ (November 12, 2007). "NSCN takes faction feud to next level, attacks Ulfa." *Hindustan Times*.

- 2 (2007)

National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah (1992-2015)

Rivalry #3: Karbi People's Liberation Tigers (KPLT) (2011-2014)

Denouncement: (2012)

Notes: NSCN-IM→KPLT (2012)

- (2012) NSCN-IM condemned KPLT for abducting two Naga youths from the construction site near Diphu in Assam's Karbi anglong district.⁴⁵

Threat: (2014)

Notes: Symmetric (2014)

- In 2014, there were threats and counter-threats between NSCN-IM and KPLT.⁴⁶

Violence: (2014)

Notes: Symmetric (2014)

- (2014) KPLT separatists attacked a Rengma Naga village, killing seven residents. In a retaliatory attack, NSCN-IM militants killed 10 Karbi villagers.⁴⁷

Violence Location:

- Rengma Naga village (2014)

Casualties:

- 17 (2014)

⁴⁵ (June 30, 2012). "NSCN/GPRN condemns kidnap of Nagas in Karbi Anglong." *UNI (United News of India)*.

⁴⁶ (January 8, 2014). "17 killed as two Indian groups clash over land." *Daily Nation (Kenya)*.

⁴⁷ (January 8, 2014). "17 killed as two Indian groups clash over land." *Daily Nation (Kenya)*.

National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah (1992-2015)

Rivalry #4: United National Liberation Front (UNLF) (1993-2015)

Denouncement: (2011)

Notes: UNLF→NSCN-IM (2011)

- (2011) UNLF accused NSCN-IM leader of carrying out petty communal politics.⁴⁸
- (2011) UNLF also said that NSCN-IM had an agenda of splitting up Manipur.⁴⁹

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #1: Al Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) (1992-2009)

Denouncement: (2003)

Notes: CPI-M→ATTF (2003)

- (2003) CPI-M called a strike to protest and condemn an attack that was suspected to have been carried out by ATTF.⁵⁰

Violence: (1996, 1998, 2004, 2008)

Notes: ATTF→CPI-M (1996, 1998, 2004, 2008)

- (1996) ATTF abducted a CPI leader and his bodyguard.⁵¹
- (1998) Tribal militants abducted three activists of CPI-Marxist.⁵²
- (2004) An eight member squad of suspected ATTF fired ‘indiscriminately’ amongst a crowd of workers killing at least five CPI-Marxist supporters and workers — all fatalities were from CPI-Marxist.⁵³

⁴⁸ (April 21, 2011). “UNLF accuses Muivah of perpetrating communal violence and Naga disunity.” *Imphal Free Press (India)*.

⁴⁹ (June 11, 2011). “Manipur's new party may root for Greater Nagaland.” *Tehelka*.

⁵⁰ (August 16, 2003). “Strike in northeastern Indian state after militant killings.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁵¹ (January 22, 1996). “Tripura MP abducted.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁵² (February 10, 1998). “Tribal militants kill five in northeastern Indian state.” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁵³ (March 20, 2004). “Separatist rebels kill five in India's northeast.” *Associated Press International*.

- (2008) The ATTF shot dead a CPI-M-claimed party worker in north Agartala under Sidhai police station.⁵⁴

Violence Location:

- Possibly Tripura, India or northeast India (1998)
- Champaknagar in Tripura (2004)
- North Agartala under Sidhai police station (2008)

Casualties:

- 5 (2004)
- 1 (2008)

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #2: National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) (1992-2015)

Denouncement: (1996, 2001-2003, 2009)

Notes: NLFT→CPI-Marxist (1996); CPI-Marxist→NLFT (2001-2003, 2009)

- (1996) The NLFT deputy supremo threatened CPI-Marxist employees and activists with death for maintaining a close relationship with ATTF and providing the militant group with sophisticated weaponry.⁵⁵
- (2001) A CPI-Marxist spokesperson stated, “We see a deliberate and systematic elimination campaign by the NLFT, backed and supported by the opposition Congress party with an eye on next year's assembly election in Tripura.”⁵⁶
- (2002) In response to the killing of 16 Bengali settlers, allegedly by NLFT, CPI-Marxist launched a strike in protest.⁵⁷
- (2002) In response to an array of attacks on CPI-Marxist by NLFT, CPM-Marxist chief spokesman called the attacks “...nothing but an act of desperation with an eye on Assembly elections due early next year.”⁵⁸

⁵⁴ (February 6, 2008). “Militants kill tribal youth in Tripura.” *UNI (United News of India)*.

⁵⁵ (May 20, 1996). “Tripura liberation front threatens Communist Party activists with “death sentence.”” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁵⁶ (September 3, 2001). “Tribal guerrillas kill six in India's northeast.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁵⁷ (January 16, 2002). “Half-day strike paralyses Indian state.” *Morning Star*.

⁵⁸ (April 27, 2002). “Rebels in India's northeast kill 10 members of ruling party.” *Agence France Presse*

- (2003) A Bengali couple was killed by NLFT militants. All political parties, including the ruling CPI-Marxist, called a 12-hour general strike in the state on Thursday to protest the killings.⁵⁹
- (2009) A CPI Marxist denounced NLFT for abducting and killing villagers in the Pushparampara village in northern Tripura.⁶⁰

Threat: (1996, 2010)

Notes: NLFT→CPI-Marxist (1996, 2010)

- (1996) The NLFT threatened with 'death sentence' government employees and activists of the ruling CPI Marxist of the northeastern Indian state of Tripura.⁶¹
- (2010) Heavily armed NLFT guerrillas raided the Raishabari village and kidnapped the tribal villagers who are members of the Communist Party of India-Marxist at gunpoint. According to police, the NLFT militants threatened the villagers not to disclose the abduction to police and asked for ransom to release the men.⁶²

Violence: (1996-1997, 2001-2003, 2007-2008, 2010, 2013)

Notes: NLFT→CPI (1996-1997, 2001-2003, 2007-2008, 2010, 2013)

- (1996) NLFT insurgents killed five people, including three members of the ruling CPI Marxist.⁶³
- (1997) CPI Marxist's son was abducted by the NLFT.⁶⁴
- (2001) NLFT militants shot dead six people, including two members of the ruling CPI-Marxists in Killa village. They killed at least 27 CPI-M leaders between June and September.⁶⁵
- (2002) NLFT members killed at least 10 CPI-Marxist members.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ (May 8, 2003). "Nine die in tribal separatist attack in northeastern India." *Agence France Presse*

⁶⁰ (November 11, 2009). "Tripura attackers may be in Bangladesh, shutdown cripples life." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁶¹ (May 20, 1996). "Tripura liberation front threatens Communist Party activists with "death sentence."" *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁶² (September 16, 2010). "Militants kidnap three CPI-M activists in Tripura." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁶³ (January, 1996). "India." *The PRS Group/International Country Risk Guide*.

⁶⁴ (November 13, 1997). "Tripura on alert following communal unrest." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁶⁵ (September 3, 2001). "Tribal guerrillas kill six in India's northeast." *Agence France Presse*; (September 3, 2001). "Tribal insurgents gun down six in northeastern India." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁶⁶ (April 27, 2002). "Rebels in India's northeast kill 10 members of ruling party." *Agence France Presse*.

- (2003) A police spokesman said at least eight senior ruling Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) leaders were killed and five kidnapped in separate incidents by NLFT militants.⁶⁷
- (2003) The following week, heavily armed NLFT militants fired at CPI M supporters in the northeastern state of Tripura, killing 10.⁶⁸
- (2003) The NLFT attacked the home of a local leader of CPI M at Takarjella village, shooting him dead at close range.⁶⁹
- (2003) By the end of the month, it was estimated that the NLFT had killed at least 12 CPI-M leaders and kidnapped five others.⁷⁰
- (2003) NLFT militants opened fire in Mandai village, killing a total of 11 CPI-M members.⁷¹
- (2003) The NLFT also carried out an attack in West Tripura district, killing 12 people, most of whom were CPI-M supporters.⁷²
- (2003) 12 people were kidnapped, whom CPI M claimed were their supporters.⁷³
- (2003) At least 30 CPI M supporters were killed in Tripura by NLFT militants.⁷⁴
- (2003) In April, NLFT militants attacked a wedding reception at Jagabandhu Para village, killing five people and injuring eight. The police suspect militants targeted the house as it belonged to a leader of CPI-M.⁷⁵
- (2003) The NLFT killed another seven CPI-M members over the course of a few days.⁷⁶
- (2003) In May, NLFT rebels shot dead three CPI-M activists in north Tripura district.⁷⁷

⁶⁷ (January 18, 2003). "Tribal separatists step up attacks in Indian state ahead of polls." *Agence France Presse*.

⁶⁸ (January 26, 2003). "Rebels kill 11 communist party supporters in India's remote northeast." *The Associated Press*.

⁶⁹ (January 27, 2003). "Separatists Kill 11 During Election Meeting in North-East India." *IHS Global Insight*.

⁷⁰ (January 27, 2003). "Separatists Kill 11 During Election Meeting in North-East India." *IHS Global Insight*.

⁷¹ (January 27, 2003). "11 killed as rebels attack election meeting in northeastern India." *Agence France Presse*.

⁷² (January 28, 2003). "Tribal separatists warn voters to boycott Indian state election." *Agence France Presse*.

⁷³ (February 18, 2003). "India: Insurgent violence casts shadow over Tripura poll." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁷⁴ (February 25, 2003). *IRNA*; (February 25, 2003). "Strife-torn northeast Indian states get ready for elections." *Agence France Presse*.

⁷⁵ (April 8, 2003). "Rebels kill five, injure eight at wedding party in northeast India." *Agence France Presse*.

⁷⁶ (April 11, 2003). "Rebels Abduct Nine People During Continuing Violence in India's North-East." *IHS Global Insight*.

⁷⁷ (May 8, 2003). *IRNA*.

- (2003) In July, NLFT militants raided the village of Takarjalla and shot dead a CPI-M leader.⁷⁸
- (2003) NLFT struck in Dhalai district in July, killing six civilians and four CPI activists.⁷⁹
- (2003) In August, NLFT militants attacked houses in the Jirania area of West Tripura district, killing three CPI-M activists.⁸⁰
- (2007) In July, NLFT members attacked a group of people working in Tulashikhar village. Three CPI-M leaders were supervising the work and were seized and kidnapped by the rebels at gunpoint.⁸¹
- (2007) NLFT militants shot dead two other CPI-M leaders at Chawmanu in Dhalai district and at Kali Bazar in south Tripura.⁸²
- (2008) NLFT abducted four CPI-M cadres from Chawmanu village in Dhalai district.⁸³
- (2008) NLFT guerrillas assaulted more than 50 CPI-M supporters at Kalaynpur in west Tripura.⁸⁴
- (2010) Heavily armed NLFT guerrillas raided the Raishabari village and kidnapped the tribal villagers who are CPI-M members at gunpoint.⁸⁵
- (2013) NLFT guerrillas abducted five tribal boys, who CPI-M say belong to families that support the party.⁸⁶

Violence Location:

- Killa Village (2001)
- Tripura District (2003)
- Takarjella Village (2003)
- Mandai Village (2003)

⁷⁸ (July 29, 2003). "Militants kill seven people in northeastern Indian state." *Agence France Presse*.

⁷⁹ (August 16, 2003). "Parties call local strike in protest at killings in northeast India." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁸⁰ (October 1, 2003). "Tribal insurgents kill three in northeastern India." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁸¹ (July 3, 2007). "Militants kidnap three CPI-M leaders." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁸² (July 15, 2007). "Two CPI-M leaders killed in Tripura." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁸³ (February 22, 2008). "Militants strike on eve of Tripura poll." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁸⁴ (February 22, 2008). "Militants strike on eve of Tripura poll." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁸⁵ (September 16, 2010). "Militants kidnap three CPI-M activists in Tripura." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁸⁶ (July 31, 2013). "Militants abduct two tribal students in Tripura." *IANS-English*.

- Jagabandhu Para Village (2003)
- Dhalai District (2003)
- Tulashikhar Village (2007)
- Chawmanu Village, Dhalai District (2007, 2008)
- Kali Bazar, South Tripura (2007)
- Kalaynpur in West Tripura District (2008)
- Raishabari Village (2010)

Casualties:

- 3 (1996)
- 27+ (2001)
- 10+ (2002)
- 150+ (2001-2002)
- 8 (2003)
- 10 (2003)
- 1 (2003)
- 11 (2003)
- 12 (2003)
- 30 (2003)
- 5 (2003)
- 7 (2003)
- 3 (2003)
- 1 (2003)
- 4 (2003)
- 3 (2003)
- 43+ (2003)
- 2 (2007)

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #3: Communist Party of India - Maoist (2005-2015)

Denouncement: (2007, 2009, 2011)

Notes: CPI-Maoist→CPI-Marxist (2007, 2011); Symmetric (2009)

- (2007) CPI-Maoist used the words ‘fascist repression’ and ‘pro-imperialist’ to describe CPI-Marxist and their policies, and their firm opposition.⁸⁷
- (2009) CPI-Marxist’s party general secretary stated that CPI-Maoist needed to be fought ‘politically and administratively.’⁸⁸
- (2009) CPI-Marxist, through the power of the state government, planned to take action to release CPI-Maoist’s control in the West Midnapore district of West Bengal.⁸⁹
- (2009) CPI-Marxist suggested that CPI-Maoist needs to be “tackled” through political and administrative measures.⁹⁰
- (2009) CPI-Maoist performs 48-hour protest in response to allegations that CPI-Marxist killed one of their members.⁹¹
- (2009) CPI-Maoist demands the Congress, CPI-Marxist and the Trinamool to first end its violence before CPI-Maoist agrees.⁹²
- (2011) CPI-Maoists call CPI-Marxist’s rule in West Bengal ‘fascist.’⁹³

Threat: (2009)

Notes: Symmetric (2009)

- (2009) The state government led by CPI-Marxist was poised to launch an operation to free the district from the control of CPI-Maoist, which had been attacking municipal buildings and the homes of CPI-M activists in Lalgarh village.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ (November 16, 2007). “Maoists call 48-hour shutdown to protest Nandigram violence.” *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁸⁸ (June 23, 2009). “Centre rules out ambiguity, bans CPI(Maoist).” *The Financial Express*.

⁸⁹ (June 19, 2009). “World - State forces take on West Bengal Maoists.” *Morning Star*.

⁹⁰ (June 22, 2009). “Calling Maoists terrorists no solution: Karat (Lead).” *Indo-Asian News Service*; (June 22, 2009). “Declaring Maoists as terrorists no solution: Karat.” *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁹¹ (October 10, 2009). “India Maoists issue shutdown call in three eastern states.” *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

⁹² (November 2, 2009). “Maoists turn down PC appeal to halt violence.” *Hindustan Times*.

⁹³ (April 11, 2011). “Maoists call for poll boycott.” *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁹⁴ (June 19, 2009). “World - State forces take on West Bengal Maoists.” *Morning Star*.

- (2009) CPI-Maoist issued a “death warrant” for Ratan Soren, who has been forced to live within the office of CPI-Marxist for three years.⁹⁵

Violence: (2005-2007, 2009-2010, 2014)

Notes: CPI-Maoist→CPI-Marxist (2005-2007, 2010, 2014); Symmetric (2009)

- (2005) In July, CPI-Maoist cadres killed two CPI-Marxist leaders in Bankura district.⁹⁶
- (2005) In December, CPI-Maoist cadres stormed the residence of a CPI-Marxist leader in Purulia district, killing him and his wife.⁹⁷
- (2006) In September, a CPI-Marxist leader and his bodyguard were killed by a CPI-Maoist.⁹⁸
- (2006) In December, two CPI-Maoist cadres were killed in an encounter in Bogdoba village of Bankura district, after a group of 70 Maoists attacked the house of a CPI-Marxist leader.⁹⁹
- (2007) In August, CPI-Maoist cadres attacked the CPI-Marxist party office at Poragachia in the Nadia district.¹⁰⁰
- (2007) In December, CPI-Maoists attacked a bus carrying around 150 CPI-Marxist supporters in West Midnapore, injuring two.¹⁰¹
- (2009) In April, a group of about 70 Maoists entered Dubrajpur and Saluka villages, near the CRPF camp at Ramgarh in West Midnapore district, and assaulted and killed a CPI-Marxist leader.¹⁰²
- (2009) In June, CPI-Maoist insurgents killed a CPI-Marxist leader in West Midnapore district.¹⁰³

⁹⁵ (April 14, 2009). “Vanishing in Red India: Democracy.” *Hindustan Times*.

⁹⁶ (October 29, 2009). “The red spread.” *Indian Express*.

⁹⁷ (October 29, 2009). “The red spread.” *Indian Express*; (January 1, 2006). “Centre expresses worry over Maoist violence in West Bengal.” *Hindustan Times*.

⁹⁸ (September 21, 2006). “Landmine blast kills two cops in Bengal.” *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁹⁹ (October 29, 2009). “The red spread.” *Indian Express*.

¹⁰⁰ (October 29, 2009). “The red spread.” *Indian Express*.

¹⁰¹ (October 29, 2009). “The red spread.” *Indian Express*.

¹⁰² (October 29, 2009). “The red spread.” *Indian Express*.

¹⁰³ (October 29, 2009). “The red spread.” *Indian Express*.

- (2009) Reports claimed that CPI-Marxist cadres were being killed by the CPI-Maoists on an almost daily basis.¹⁰⁴
- (2002-2009) CPI-Maoists killed 111 West Medinipur residents, 74 of which were targeted because of their support or affiliation with CPI-Marxist.¹⁰⁵
- (2009) CPI-Maoists attacked municipal buildings and the homes of CPI-Marxists in Lalgarh village, killing 10 government supporters including at least three CPI-Marxists.¹⁰⁶
- (2009) In September, CPI-Maoists killed four CPI-Marxist supporters in West Bengal's Lalgarh.¹⁰⁷
- (2009) In December, CPI-Maoists shot dead a CPI-Marxist activist in West Midnapore district.¹⁰⁸
- (2009) CPI-Maoists (along with PCPA) killed four CPI-Marxist party members in Chhadra and Jitusole.¹⁰⁹
- (2010) CPI-Maoists abducted and shot dead a CPI-Marxist in Kuldiha village.¹¹⁰
- (2010) In September, CPI-Maoists shot dead five CPI-Marxist supporters in Nichupatina village, West Midnapore, West Bengal.¹¹¹
- (2014) CPI-Marxist dance troupe organiser was allegedly shot and killed by a CPI-Maoist.¹¹²

Violence Location:

- Bankura District (2005)
- Purulia District (2005)
- Bogdoba Village, Bankura District (2006)

¹⁰⁴ (June 22, 2009). "Centre repeats: CPI (Maoist) a terror outfit, CPM insists on 'political' fight." *Indian Express*.

¹⁰⁵ (June 26, 2009). "Maoist 'death squads' kill 111 people in eastern India since 2002." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

¹⁰⁶ (June 19, 2009). "World - State forces take on West Bengal Maoists." *Morning Star*.

¹⁰⁷ (September 14, 2009). "Supporting Role." *Mail Today*.

¹⁰⁸ (December 7, 2009). "Maoists kill CPI-M activist, torch another's house." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

¹⁰⁹ (December 19, 2009). "Maoists kill four Left party members in east India." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

¹¹⁰ (March 23, 2010). "Maoists kill policeman, blast rail tracks (Roundup)." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

¹¹¹ (September 13, 2010). "Maoists kill five CPI-M supporters in West Bengal." *Indo-Asian News Service*; (September 17, 2010). "Government Condemns Unabated Violence By Cpi (Maoist) During Bandh." *IPR*.

¹¹² (April 30, 2014). "Security Analysis on the International, Regional and Domestic Fronts." *Defence Journal*.

- Poragachia, Nadia District (2007)
- West Midnapore (2006,2007)
- Dubrajpur Village (2009)
- Saluka Village (2009)
- West Midnapore District (2009)
- West Midnapore (2002-2009)
- Lalgah Village (2009)
- Lalgah, West Bengal (2009)
- Chaadra (2009)
- Jitusole (2009)
- Kuldiha, West Midnapore, West Bengal (2010)
- Nichupatina Village, West Midnapore, West Bengal (2010)
- Tummala village in Chintur mandal of Khammam District (2014)

Casualties:

- 2 (2005)
- 2 (2005)
- 3 (2006)
- 2 (2006)
- 1 (2009)
- 1 (2009)
- 74 (2002-2009)
- 10 (2009)
- 4 (2009)
- 1 (2009)
- 4 (2009)
- 11 (2010)
- 1 (2014)
- 5 (2010)

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #4: People's Committee Against Police Atrocities (PCPA) (2009-2011)

Denouncement: (2009-2011)

Notes: Symmetric (2009-2010); PCPA→CPI-Marxist (2011)

- (2009) CPI-Marxist claimed 3 of their party workers were killed by the “goons” of PCAPA, and a PCAPA leader claimed CPI-Marxist was “levelling false allegations...”¹¹³
- (2009) An activist of PCAPA stated they left the party because of the “...wrong policies of the party.”¹¹⁴
- (2009) In April, a PCPA leader referred to CPI-Marxists as miscreants.¹¹⁵
- (2009) The PCPA urged people to vote against the ruling CPI-Marxists.¹¹⁶
- (2010) In response to being blamed for a sabotage attack, PCPA accused CPI Marxist of hatching the conspiracy.¹¹⁷
- (2011) PCAPA stages 72-hour shutdown to protest the killing of villagers allegedly by CPI-Marxist militants.¹¹⁸

Violence: (2009-2011)

Notes: Symmetric (2009-2010); PCPA→CPI-Marxist (2011)

- (2009) Television channels filmed PCPA members demolishing a new two-storey house belonging to a local CPI-M leader.¹¹⁹
- (2009) PCPA torched a police station and offices of the CPI-Marxist, killing several of their party activists in Lalgarh.¹²⁰

¹¹³ (June 14, 2009). “Three killed in West Bengal clashes.” *Indo-Asian News Service*; (June 16, 2009). “Troopers dispatched to Lalgarh in West Bengal, unrest spreads.” *Indo-Asian News Service*.

¹¹⁴ (July 31, 2009). “Maoists incite Lalgarh villagers to protest against deployment of security forces.” *Hindustan Times*.

¹¹⁵ (April 11, 2009). “Lalgarh tribal leader alleges attack by CPI-M.” *Hindustan Times*.

¹¹⁶ (April 11, 2009). “Lalgarh tribal leader alleges attack by CPI-M.” *Hindustan Times*.

¹¹⁷ (June 2, 2010). “India: Security Experts Fear Maoists Targeting Civilians.” *IPS - Inter Press Service*.

¹¹⁸ (January 11, 2011). “Pro-Maoist shutdown hits life of three Bengal districts.” *Indo-Asian News Service*; (January 8, 2011). “Pro-Maoist group calls shutdown to protest Lalgarh killings.” *Indo-Asian News Service*.

¹¹⁹ (June 16, 2009). “Maoists take over part of India's West Bengal state.” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

¹²⁰ (June 23, 2009). “Suspected militants torch CPI (M) offices.” *Asian News International (ANI)*.

- (2009) In August, PCPA went on a rampage, setting fire to police camps, trade unions, CPI-Marxist party offices, and village administration buildings. It shot dead CPI-M members and close sympathisers.¹²¹
- (2009) In December, PCPA activists set six houses of CPI Marxist activists on fire in Parulia village.¹²²
- (2009) PCPA (along with CPI-Maoists) killed four CPI-Marxist party members in Chhadra and Jitusole.¹²³
- (2010) PCPA killed three CPI-Marxist supporters.¹²⁴
- (2011) PCPA militants abducted 2 CPI-Marxist party workers and it is unclear if they were killed.¹²⁵
- (2011) Eight homes of CPI-Marxist leaders and supporters were torched allegedly by PCPA members.¹²⁶
- (2011) A PCPA spokesperson was arrested for allegedly abducting and killing a CPI-Marxist leader.¹²⁷

Violence Location:

- Lalgarh (2009)
- Parulia Village (2009)
- Chhadra (2009)
- Jitusole (2009)
- Bankura District's Sarenga village (2010)
- Jhargram (2010)
- Two villages of West Midnapore District (2010, 2011)
- Muraboni village (2011)
- Satghora and Aguboni areas of Jhargram sub-division (2011)

¹²¹ (August 4, 2009). "Feature - Politics of terror in West Bengal." *Morning Star*.

¹²² (December 11, 2009). "Fierce gun-battle between CPI(M) activists, Maoists." *UNI (United News of India)*.

¹²³ (December 19, 2009). "Maoists kill four Left party members in east India." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

¹²⁴ (June 20, 2011). "Amnesty International: Annual Report: India 2011." *States News Service*.

¹²⁵ (March 26, 2011). "Maoists kill two women in Bengal." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

¹²⁶ (June 16, 2011). "CPI-M leaders' houses torched in Bengal's West Midnapore." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

¹²⁷ (July 1, 2011). "Pro-Maoist tribal body's spokesman re-arrested." *Indo-Asian News Service*; (November 6, 2011). "Maoist arrested for murder of local Communist leader in Jhargram, W. Benga." *Asian News International (ANI)*.

Casualties:

- 'several' (2009)
- 2+ (2009)
- 4 (2009)
- 3 (2010)
- 1 (2011)

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #5: Coordination Committee (CORCOM) (2012-2014)

Denouncement: (2013)

Notes: CORCOM→CPI-M (2013)

- (2013) CORCOM came out against CPM, urging them to do some introspection after CPM leaders alleged that a speech by an RMP leader was meant to threaten them with violence.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ (May 1, 2013). "Tight security for Onchiyam Martyrs' Day observance." *New Indian Express*.

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #6: Indian Mujahideen (2008-2013)

Denouncement: (2010)

Notes: Indian Mujahideen → CPI-Marxist (2013)

- (2010) CPI-Marxist condemned an attack carried out by the Indian Mujahideen, referring to their actions as ‘senseless acts of violence.’¹²⁹

¹²⁹ (December 9, 2010). “Deal firmly with terrorists: CPI-M.” *Daily the Pak Banker*.

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #7: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (1990-2010)

Denouncement: (1991, 2008)

Notes: CPI-Marxist→LTTE (1991, 2008)

- (1991) CPI-Marxist condemned the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister, allegedly by LTTE.¹³⁰
- (2008) CPI Marxist expressed its view of LTTE as a ‘fascist force,’ stating that their reliance on armed struggle has only made things worse.¹³¹
- (2008) In November, even when most political parties reacted strongly against the ongoing military operation against LTTE, CPI-Marxist maintained its opposition to the terrorist tactics of LTTE.¹³²

¹³⁰ (May 21, 1991). “Indian political parties condemn Gandhi assassination.” *Agence France Presse*.

¹³¹ (February 13, 2008). “CPM Not To Invite Lanka's Jvp To Party Congress In Coimbatore.” *The Pioneer (India)*.

¹³² (November 12, 2008). “India and conflict in Sri Lanka.” *The Nation (AsiaNet)*.

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #8: National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) (1992-2015)

Denouncement: (2004, 2014)

Notes: CPI-Marxist→NDFB (2004, 2014)

- (2004) CPI-Marxist reacted to the suspected role of the NDFB in the Assam blasts by saying that such ‘indiscriminate violence’ must be ‘countered by firm action.’¹³³
- (2014) CPI-Marxist urged the government to take ‘firm action to curb and dismantle the NDFB extremist group.’¹³⁴

¹³³ (October 4, 2004). “Act fast in NE: Left.” *Hindustan Times*.

¹³⁴ (December 24, 2014). “CPI-M condemns Assam killings.” *IANS-English*.

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #9: Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (1990-2003)

Denouncement: (1999)

Notes: Symmetric (1999)

- (1999) In response to the Home Minister Advani's comments that suggests RSS does not have a criminal record, CPI-Marxist responds by calling out Advani for "protecting communal fanatics."¹³⁵
- (1999) Following the police arresting of 59 RSS activists, a RSS spokesman was quoted as saying "...the arrests were a 'conspiracy' hatched by..." CPI-Marxist.¹³⁶
- (1999) CPI-Marxist claimed that RSS was responsible for slander against them and demanded an immediate end to it.¹³⁷
- (1999) The CPI-M said the country's most powerful Hindu revivalist group, the RSS, was responsible for the slander and demanded an immediate end to it.¹³⁸

Violence: (1991-1999)

Notes: Symmetric (1991-1999)

- (1999) There was a steep rise in clashes between CPI-Marxist and RSS in the 1990s — number of casualties not specified.¹³⁹

Violence Location:

- Kannur (1999)

Casualties:

- 3+ confirmed, hundreds-thousands suspected (1999)

¹³⁵ January 26, 1999). "Rights-india: Fundamentalism Casts A Shadow Over Republic Day." *IPS-Inter Press Service*.

¹³⁶ (January 27, 1999). "59 Hindus arrested for attack on Indian Christians." *Agence France Presse*.

¹³⁷ (October 18, 1999). "Radical Hindu groups urge PM not to accord state visit status to Pope." *Agence France Presse*; (October 18, 1999). "Indian communists want anti-Christian "propaganda" halted." *Agence France Presse*.

¹³⁸ no source or year included

¹³⁹ (December 9, 1999). "Hindu nationalist leader sacked for defying Indian PM." *Agence France Presse*.

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #10: ULFA (1990-2015)

Denouncement: (2007)

Notes: CPI-Marxist→ULFA (2007)

- (2007) The State unit of CPI-Marxist condemned the killing of Hindi-speaking people by ULFA militants.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ (January 11, 2007). "CPM For Talks Without Terms." *Hindustan Times*.

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #11: Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO) (2000-2015)

Violence: (2002)

Notes: KLO→CPI-Marxist (2002)

- (2002) KLO militants opened fire on a CPI-Marxist regional meeting, killing 4 and wounding 17.¹⁴¹

Violence Location:

- Dhupguri town in the district of Jalpaiguri (2002)

Casualties:

- 4 (2002)

¹⁴¹ (August 18, 2002). "Militants attack communist meeting in eastern India, kill four." *Agence France Presse*.

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #12: Maoist Communist Center (MCC) (1992-2009)

Violence: (1995)

Notes: MCC→CPI-Marxist (1995)

- (1995) MCC allegedly killed a candidate of CPI-Marxist and his bodyguard as they arrived at a market for an election meeting.¹⁴²

Violence Location:

- Chatra district (1995)

Casualties:

- 2 (1995)

¹⁴² (March 01, 1995). "Communist candidate slain in Indian state, security beefed up." *Agence France Presse*.

Communist Party of India - Marxist (1991-2014)

Rivalry #13: People's War Group (PWG) (1990-2004)

Violence: (2002)

Notes: PWG→CPI-Marxist (2002)

- (2002) Members of PWG allegedly shot and killed a CPI-Marxist politician.¹⁴³

Violence Location:

- 215 kilometres from the state capital Calcutta (2002)

Casualties:

- 1+ (2002)

¹⁴³ (July 9, 2002). "Suspected rebels gun down politician, police bodyguard in." *Agence France Presse*.

Hizbul Mujahedin (1990-2015)

Rivalry #1: Jamiat ul-Mujahedin (1996-2013)

Denouncement: (2006)

Notes: HM→JuM (2006)

- (2006) HM condemned attacks carried out by JuM, JeM, and Al-Mansoorian that left five civilians dead and 35 wounded.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ (April 16, 2006). "Kashmir-Group-Police." *IRNA*.

Hizbul Mujahedin (1990-2015)

Rivalry #2: Jaish-e-Mohammad (2000-2015)

Denouncement: (2006)

Notes: HM→JeM (2006)

- (2006) HM condemned attacks carried out by JuM, JeM, and Al-Mansoorian that left five civilians dead and 35 wounded.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ (April 16, 2006). "Kashmir-Group-Police." *IRNA*.

Hizbul Mujahedin (1990-2015)

Rivalry #3: Al-Mansoorian (2002-2007)

Denouncement: (2006)

Notes: HM→Al-Mansoorian (2006)

- (2006) HM condemned attacks carried out by JuM, JeM, and Al-Mansoorian that left five civilians dead and 35 wounded.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ (April 16, 2006). "Kashmir-Group-Police." *IRNA*.

Hizbul Mujahedin (1990-2015)

Rivalry #4: Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami (2002-2011)

Violence: (2004)

Notes: Symmetric (2004)

- (2004) A HUJI militant was killed by HuM militants in an inter-group clash at Morian in Manjakote area of Rajauri district.¹⁴⁷

Violence Location:

- Morian, Majakote Area, Rajauri District (2004)

Casualties:

- 1 (2004)

¹⁴⁷ (December 31, 2004). "Four militants killed Kashmir clashes - Indian agency." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Hizbul Mujahedin (1990-2015)

Rivalry #5: Jamaat i Islami (1995)

Violence: (1995)

Notes: HM→Jamaat i Islami (1995)

- (1995) There was alleged proof that a JeI leader was killed by HM, though this was not verified.¹⁴⁸

Casualties:

- 1 (1995)

¹⁴⁸ (December 18, 1995). "Internal strife reportedly apparent in All-Party Hurriyat Conference." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Hizbul Mujahedin (1990-2015)

Rivalry #6: Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (1990-1996)

Denouncement: (1990, 1994-1995)

Notes: JKLF→HuM (1990); Symmetric (1991,1994); HuM→JKLF (1995)

- (1990) JKLF condemned attacks carried out by HuM as ‘acts of personal vendetta’¹⁴⁹
- (1991) There was back-and-forth between the two groups, each blaming the other for violence, including kidnappings and killings, against their members and denying the accusations against their own groups.¹⁵⁰
- (1994) Hizbul Mujahideen condemned HuA’s kidnappings and both groups accused each other of attacking the JKLF leader.¹⁵¹
- (1995) HuM accused JKLF of colluding with Indian Security Forces.¹⁵²

Threat: (1991, 1995)

Notes: Symmetric (1991, 1995)

- (1991) JKLF and HuM were engaged in a sharp verbal battle threatening open warfare.¹⁵³
- (1995) Tensions between the two groups increased when one of JKLF’s top leaders was gunned down by HuM militants, which prompted JKLF to issue an ultimatum for the rival group to hand over the JKLF leader’s assassin.¹⁵⁴

Violence: (1991-1995)

Notes: Symmetric (1991-1995)

- (1991) There were some clashes between JKLF and HuM.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ (August 5, 1991). “Rival Kashmiri militant groups on verge of open war.” *United Press International*.

¹⁵⁰ (August 5, 1991). “Rival Kashmiri militant groups on verge of open war.” *United Press International*.

¹⁵¹ (June 10, 1994). “Abducted Britons in Kashmir to be released soon : PTI.” *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁵² (February 24, 1995). “Kashmir militants' rivalry increases.” *United Press International*.

¹⁵³ (August 5, 1991). “Rival Kashmiri militant groups on verge of open war.” *United Press International*.

¹⁵⁴ (February 24, 1995). “Kashmir militants' rivalry increases.” *United Press International*; (February 25, 1995). “Five civilians killed in Kashmir.” *United Press International*.

¹⁵⁵ (July 24, 1991). “South Asia: Kashmir Impasse Volatile, Say Experts.” *IPS-Inter Press Service*.

- (1991) There was back-and-forth between the two groups, each blaming the other for violence, including kidnappings and killings, against their members and denying the accusations against their own groups.¹⁵⁶
- (1991) In August, a clash inside the Hazratbal shrine complex in Kashmir left one dead in August.¹⁵⁷
- (1992) At least 7 people were killed in clashes at Mochu village between JKLF and HuM members.¹⁵⁸
- (1993) Over 120 such clashes were reported killing over 75 militants in 1993.¹⁵⁹
- (1994) The government said HuM killed a JKLF district commander. In 1995, HuM gunned down one of JKLF's top leaders.¹⁶⁰

Violence Location:

- Mochu Village (1992)
- Kashmir (1991, 1995)

Casualties:

- 1 (1991)
- 7+ (1992)
- 75+ (1993)
- 1 (1994)
- 1 (1995)

¹⁵⁶ (August 5, 1991). "Rival Kashmiri militant groups on verge of open war." *United Press International*.

¹⁵⁷ (August 15, 1991). "22 die in fight between Moslem militants, security forces." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁵⁸ (May 16, 1992). "Strike protest militant leader's arrest cripples Kashmir." *Agence France Presse*; (April 1, 1992). "Glimmer of hope flickers in darkened valley Kashmir." *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*.

¹⁵⁹ (January 20, 1994). "Clashes between separatist groups in Kashmir reported." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

¹⁶⁰ (February 24, 1995). "Kashmir militants' rivalry increases." *United Press International*; (February 25, 1995). "Five civilians killed in Kashmir." *United Press International*.

Hizbul Mujahedin (1990-2015)

Rivalry #7: Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) (1999-2015)

Violence: (2000, 2002, 2004)

Notes: HuM→LeT (2000), Symmetric (2002, 2004)

- (2000) HuM militants attacked an LeT hideout in Kashmir.¹⁶¹
- (2002) Members of the LeT and HuM fired at one another in Mithwan village, in Doda district, some 185 kilometres (115 miles) north of Jammu. The gunfight reportedly lasted well over an hour, resulting in the death of 6 HuM militants and 1 LeT militant.¹⁶²
- (2004) HuM gunned down three armed LeT militants in Pulwama District of South Kashmir.¹⁶³

Violence Location:

- Niki Mori Dhok village in Surankat (2000)
- Mithwan Village, Doda District (2002)
- Pulwama District of south Kashmir (2004)

Casualties:

- 1 (2000)
- 7 (2002)
- 3 (2004)

¹⁶¹ (August 16, 2000). "Hizb-ul Mojahedin reportedly joins attack on rival militant hideout." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

¹⁶² (June 12, 2002). "Indian soldier dies in shelling in Kashmir, seven militants killed." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁶³ (September 3, 2004). "Rival militant groups carry out revenge killings in Kashmir." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Hizbul Mujahedin (1990-2015)

Rivalry #8: Harakat ul Ansar (1994-1997)

Denouncement: (1994)

Notes: HuM→HuA (1994)

- (1994) Hizbul Mujahideen condemned HuA's kidnappings.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ (June 10, 1994). "Abducted Britons in Kashmir to be released soon : PTI." *Agence France Presse*.

Hizbul Mujahedin (1990-2015)

Rivalry #9: Ikwhan-ul-Muslimoon (1994-2007)

Denouncement: (1995)

Notes: IuM→HuA (1995)

- (1995) An IuM leader refers to HuM as “atrocious.”¹⁶⁵

Threat: (1995)

Notes: IuM→HuA (1995)

- (1995) An IuM leader vows to wipe out HuM.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ (September 27, 1995). “A Robin Hood Kashmiri militant fights fellow rebels.” *Agence France Presse*; (November 17, 1995). “Survey of India.” *Financial Times (London, England)*.

¹⁶⁶ (September 27, 1995). “A Robin Hood Kashmiri militant fights fellow rebels.” *Agence France Presse*.

Muslim Brotherhood (1991-1992)

Rivalry #1: Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (1990-1996)

Threat: (1991)

Notes: Muslim Brotherhood → JKLF (1991)

- (1991) The Muslim Brotherhood threatened to use force to stop a feud between JKLF and HuM, saying they'd snatch away their arms and weapons and that they would be the ones to blame if they continued blaming each other publicly.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ (August 5, 1991). "Rival Kashmiri militant groups on verge of open war." *United Press International*.

Muslim Brotherhood (1991-1992)

Rivalry #2: Hizbul Mujahideen (1990-2015)

Threat: (1991)

Notes: Muslim Brotherhood → HuM (1991)

- (1991) The Muslim Brotherhood threatened to use force to stop a feud between JKLF and HuM, saying they'd snatch away their arms and weapons and that they would be the ones to blame if they continued blaming each other publicly.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ (August 5, 1991). "Rival Kashmiri militant groups on verge of open war." *United Press International*.

Lashkar-e-Islam (2015)

Rivalry #1: Hizbul Mujahideen (1990-2015)

Denouncement: (2015)

Notes: Symmetric (2015)

- (2015) The chief of HuM issued strong statements against killings carried out by LeI, describing LeI as a brainchild of Indian intelligence agencies.¹⁶⁹
- (2015) HuM and other separatist groups dissociated themselves from the killings and branded LeI as a government-funded group.¹⁷⁰
- (2015) In response to HuM's denouncements, LeI denied being an Indian intelligence offshoot and urged the chief to investigate before making statements.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ (July 24, 2015). "The Mystery of the Sopore Killings." *Indian Economic & Political News*.

¹⁷⁰ (July 25, 2015). "Reporting From the Margins." *Tehelka*.

¹⁷¹ (June 7, 2015). "Police launch investigation into appearance of Taliban posters in Indian Kashmir." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

Lashkar-e-Islam (2015)

Rivalry #2: Lashkar-e-Taiba (1999-2015)

Denouncement: (2015)

Notes: LeT→LeI (2015)

- (2015) The head of the United Jihad Council (UJC), an amalgam of several militant groups including LeT, issued strong statements against killings carried out by LeI, describing LeI as a brainchild of Indian intelligence agencies.¹⁷²
- (2015) LeT and other separatist groups dissociated themselves from the killings and branded LeI as a government-funded group.¹⁷³

¹⁷² (July 24, 2015). “The Mystery of the Sopore Killings.” *Indian Economic & Political News*.

¹⁷³ (July 25, 2015). “Reporting From the Margins.” *Tehelka*.

Lashkar-e-Islam (2015)

Rivalry #3: Jaish-e-Mohammed (2000-2015)

Denouncement: (2015)

Notes: JeM→LeI (2015)

- (2015) The head of the United Jihad Council (UJC), an amalgam of several militant groups including JeM, issued strong statements against killings carried out by LeI, describing LeI as a brainchild of Indian intelligence agencies.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ (July 24, 2015). “The Mystery of the Sopore Killings.” *Indian Economic & Political News*.

Lashkar-e-Taiba (1999-2015)

Rivalry #1: Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (1990-2003)

Threat: (2003)

Notes: LeT→RSS (2003)

- (2003) Police arrested a ‘top militant commander’ of LeT, who revealed that LeT had targeted and was planning attacks on activists of the pro-Hindu RSS outfit across the country to avenge the killings of Muslims during the Gujarat riots.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ (April 10, 2003). “Kashmir police chief says Lashkar-i-Toiba plans attacks on Hindu temples.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Ranvir Sena (1996-2000)

Rivalry #1: Maoist Communist Center (1992-2009)

Threat: (1999-2000)

Notes: Symmetric (1999-2000)

- (1999) 33 Dalits (citizens protected by MCC) were killed by Ranvir Sena. MCC took revenge by massacring 12 upper-caste landlords (protected by Ranvir Sena), and threatened further massacres if Dalits were harmed.¹⁷⁶
- (2000) Ranvir Sena slaughtered Dalits in the village of Miapur, claiming revenge for their 12 landlords. MCC threatened to avenge the killings within 30 days, saying the toll would not be less than 150. A Ranvir Sena area commander said he was unmoved by the threat of revenge, and said they would kill ten times as many as their opponents.¹⁷⁷

Violence: (1996-2000)

Notes: Symmetric (1996-2000)

- (1996-2000) The war of supremacy between the Maoists and the Ranvir Sena in Jehanabad claimed about 250 lives between 1981 and 1999, including 192 low caste farmers and 54 upper-caste landowners.¹⁷⁸
- (1998-1999) The Ranvir Sena was responsible for massacring 61 landless farmers in 1997. They also gunned down 11 low-caste Hindu villagers in Jehanabad in 1998 and 22 in 1999.¹⁷⁹
- (1999) Armed members of the MCC rounded up residents of the village of Senari in Bihar state and killed 33.¹⁸⁰
- (1999) Inspector General Neelamani said the victims were believed to have links with the Ranvir Sena, which had killed at least 33 Dalits over the previous six weeks.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ (March 20, 1999). "33 Slain in India Caste Attack." *Newsday (New York)*.

¹⁷⁷ (June 19, 2000). "11 Arrested in East India Massacre." *Associated Press Online*.

¹⁷⁸ (March 20, 1999). "Massacre victims cremated in eastern India." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁷⁹ (March 20, 1999). "Massacre victims cremated in eastern India." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁸⁰ (March 20, 1999). "33 Slain in India Caste Attack." *Newsday (New York)*; (June 19, 2000). "11 Arrested in East India Massacre." *Associated Press Online*.

¹⁸¹ (March 19, 1999). "Caste Violence In India Kills 35." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

- (2000) MCC killed 12 upper-caste landlords, to which Ranvir Sena responded by slaughtering Dalits in the village of Miapur.¹⁸²

Violence Location:

- Jehanabad (1996-1999)
- Village of Senari in Bihar State (1999)
- Miapur (2000)

Casualties:

- 250 (1981-1999)
- 61 (1997)
- 11 (1998)
- 22 (1999)
- 33 (1999)
- 21 (1999)
- 12 (2000)

¹⁸² (June 19, 2000). "11 Arrested in East India Massacre." *Associated Press Online*.

Ranbir Sena (1996-2000)

Rivalry #2: People's War Group (1990-2004)

Violence: (1997, 1999-2000)

Notes: Symmetric (1997, 1999-2000)

- (1997) The Ranvir Sena struck the Jehanabad village of Lakshmanpur Bathe, killing 61 Dalits with guns, machetes and spears. The PWG is suspected of similar attacks on poor upper-caste villagers in the Jehanabad region in late February and early March, when they killed nine people. The PWG represents landless workers, mostly Dalits who have no standing in India's strict caste hierarchy.¹⁸³
- (1999) PWG rounded up residents of the village of Senari in Bihar state and shot 35 people to death. The victims were upper-caste villagers believed to have links to the Ranvir Sena. The attack by the PWG was believed to be in retaliation for the recent killings of 33 people from the lowest-caste Dalit community, the reports said. In 2000, newspaper reports said Ranvir Sena and PWG were engaged in a "war of attrition." 34 and 22 people were killed in separate incidents.¹⁸⁴

Violence Location:

- Jehanabad Village, Lakshmanpur Bathe (1997)
- Senari Village, Bihar State (1999)
- Miapur; Aurangabad District; Bihar State (2000)

Casualties:

- 61 (1997)
- 9 (1997)
- 35 (1999)
- 33 (1999)
- 55 (2000)

¹⁸³ (March 18, 1999). "Caste war erupts again in India; 35 killed in midnight attack." *The Associated Press*.

¹⁸⁴ (June 17, 2000). "Gunmen kill 22 villagers in attack attributed to caste tensions in eastern India." *Associated Press International*; (June 18, 2000). "11 Arrested in East India Massacre." *Associated Press Online*.

National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) (1992-2015)

Rivalry #1: Home Guard (1990-2007)

Violence: (1996)

Notes: NDFB→Home Guard (1996)

- (1996) NDFB militants set off blasts in the northeastern state of Assam when three policemen and a paramilitary soldier of the Home Guards were sent to ensure that a bridge was safe for their patrol to cross. NDFB detonated the bomb when the policemen reached the span, killing five and wounding two in the explosions.¹⁸⁵

Violence Location:

- Northeastern state of Assam (1996)

Casualties:

- 1 (1996)

¹⁸⁵ (March 12, 1996). "Five Men Killed in Bombings in Northeastern India." The Associated Press.

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (1990-2003)

Rivalry #1: Students Islamic Movement of India (2001-2015)

Denouncement: (2001)

Notes: SIMI→RSS (2001)

- (2001) Reports called out SIMI for speaking out loudly against the ‘communalism’ of the RSS and its various clones without noticing the irony of their words.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ (September 24, 2001). “Striking Terror.” *India Today*.

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (1990-2003)

Rivalry #2: National Liberation Front of Tripura (1992)

Denouncement: (2000)

Notes: RSS→NLFT (2000)

- (2000) The RSS accused the NLFT of forcing Hindus to convert to Christianity at gunpoint.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ (June 18, 2000). "11 Indian rebels shot dead by Bangladeshi troops." *Agence France Presse*.

United Liberation Front of Assam (1990-2015)

Rivalry #1: Home Guard (1990-2007)

Violence: (2005)

Notes: ULFA→Home Guard (2005)

- (2005) ULFA militants rounded up 10 Home Guard personnel guarding the Oil pipeline at Baksu-Komargaon and blew up the pipeline with explosives.¹⁸⁸

Violence Location:

- Baksu-komargaon (2005)

¹⁸⁸ (June 18, 2000). "11 Indian rebels shot dead by Bangladeshi troops." *Agence France Presse*.

Black Widow (2007-2009)

Rivalry #1: Dima Halao Daoga (DHD) (1999-2010)

Denouncement: (2007)

Notes: DHD→Black Widows (2007)

- (2007) The chairman of DHD, warned the Black Widow to desist from voicing opinion on what happens within DHD.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ (January 29, 2007). "DHD Unhappy Over Delay in Peace Talks." *Hindustan Times*.

Maoist Communist Center (1992-2009)

Rivalry #1: People's War Group (1990-2004)

Violence: (1999, 2001)

Notes: MCC→PWG (1999); Symmetric (2001)

- (1999) Reports allege that MCC killed a PWG leader in the Palamu District. In 2001, the two groups engaged in reciprocal violence.¹⁹⁰

Violence Location:

- Palamu District (1999)
- Mataurha Village (2001)
- Dasmai Village (2001)
- Bihar State (2001)

Casualties:

- 1 (1999)
- 15 (2001)

¹⁹⁰ (August 23, 2001). "Six 'untouchables' killed as caste war continues in India's Bihar state." *Associated Press International*.

Indonesia

All Groups and Years:

Ratih - rakyat terlatih (1999)

Dadurus Merah Putih (1999)

Tim Pancasila (1999)

Team Alfa (1999)

Besi Merah Puti (1999)

Peace Force and Defender of Integration (1999)

Naga Merah (1999)

Ahi (1999)

Aitarak (1999)

Pro-Integration Fighters PPI (1999)

Gada Paksi (1997-1999)

Sera (1998-1999)

Mahidi (1998-1999)

Kamra (1998-2000)

Laksaur (1999-2000)

Sakunar (1999-2000)

Banser (2000-2001)

Death Squad (II) (2000-2002)

Berantas Anti-Separatist Movement (2003-2004)

Laskar Merah Putih (2003-2004)

Anti Free Aceh Movement Front (2004)

Anti Aceh-Separatist Front (2004)

East Timorese Activists (1995-1997)

Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT) (2012-2015)

Satgas PDI-P (1999-2003)

Satgas Merah Putih (2000-2005)

Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) (1992-1997)

Frentilin (1992-1999)

Sharia Police (2001-2007)

Pam Swakarsa (1998-2005)

West Papua Militia (2000-2007)

Ninjas (1991-1998)

Makikit (1990-1999)

Pemuda Panca Marga (1998-2007)

Diponegoro Youth (1990-1999)

Team Saka (1990-1999)

Halilintar (1990-2000)

Jemaah Islamiya (JI) (2000-2011)

Wanra (1990-2003)

Free Aceh Movement (GAM) (1991-2005)

GAM (1990-2005)

Pemuda Pancasila (1990-2007)

Siliwangi Youth (1990-2007)

Free Papua Movement (OPM-Organisasi Papua Merdeka) (1992-2015)

Frentilin

Rivalry #1: Halilintar

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #2: Wanra

Violence

Rivalry #3: Sera

Violence

Rivalry #4: Team Saka

Violence

Rivalry #5: Ninjas

Violence

Frentilin (1992-1999)

Rivalry #1: Halilintar (1990-2000)

Denouncement: (1999)

Notes: Halilintar→Frentilin (1999)

- (1999) “Frentilin lied to the people in 1974-75. They promised a good life, but apparently they were lying. And in years to come, they will lie even more,” Tavares said.. He urged the local people not to believe the pro-independence propaganda.¹

Violence: (1999)

Notes: Symmetric (1999)

- (1999) Six members of the Halilintar pro-integration group opened fire on houses in the village of Maliana, killing a family of four (including a former Fretilin rebel) and injuring two others.²
- (1999) Six Timorese were kidnapped and murdered by Halilintar troops. This was followed by a Falintil revenge attack, in which a Halilintar leader and two TNI soldiers were killed.³

Violence Location:

- Cailaco village, Maliana village (1999)

Casualties:

- 11 (1999)

¹ (April 12, 1999). “Indonesia: “Thousands” Attend Pro-Jakarta Rally in East Timor.” *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

² (March 22, 1999). “Military Blames Timor’s Independence Group for Killings.” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

³ (1999). “Crimes Against Humanity in East Timor, January to October 1999 Their Nature and Causes.” *James Dunn*.

Frentilin (1992-1999)

Rivalry #2: Wanra (1990-2003)

Violence: (1998)

Notes: Fretilin→Wanra (1998)

- (1998) Two members of the local civilian defence (Wanra) unit, were killed in an ambush laid by Fretilin security disturbance gang (GPK) at Umauna Ulu village.⁴

Violence Location:

- Umauna Ulu village (1998)

Casualties:

- 2 (1998)

⁴ (January 17, 1998). "Rebel Group Kills Two Militiamen." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Frentilin (1992-1999)

Rivalry #3: Sera (1998-1999)

Violence: (1998)

Notes: Fretilin→Sera (1998)

- (1998) Two members of the local civilian defence (Wanra) unit, were killed in an ambush laid by Fretilin security disturbance gang (GPK) at Umauna Ulu village. Commander of the military establishment Col Slamet Sidabutar said he deplored the ambush on a car in which Sera Malik was riding along with two members of the local civilian defence unit.⁵

Violence Location:

- Umauna Ulu village (1998)

⁵ (January 17, 1998). "Rebel Group Kills Two Militiamen." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Fretilin (1992-1999)

Rivalry #4: Team Saka (1990-1999)

Violence: (1995-1996)

Notes: Saka→Fretilin (1995); Fretilin→Saka (1996)

- (1995) Six terrorists of the Fretilin were shot dead by the Saka Security Team in Ermera district⁶
- (1996) A commander of the Saka Unit of the Baucau Military District Command, was shot dead by GPK-Fretilin rebels.⁷

Violence Location:

- Ermera district (1995)

Casualties:

- 1995: 6
- 1996: 1

⁶ (January 16, 1995). "Documentation for Team Saka." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁷ (1996). "Baucau Military Unit Commander Shot Dead, Allegedly by Fretilin Rebels." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Frentilin (1992-1999)

Rivalry #5: Ninjas (1991-1998)

Violence: (1998)

Notes: Ninjas→Frentilin (1998)

- (1998) Ninjas wearing ski masks torched the home and store of a family outside Liquica. When they issued a complaint they were told that they had no rights as Fretilin supporters.⁸

Violence Location:

- 1998: Liquica

⁸ (August 17, 1998). "East Timorese Caught in Vise of Violence." *Chicago Tribune*.

Ivory Coast

All Groups and Years:

Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP) (2003-2003)

Patriotic Movement of Cote d'Ivoire (MPCI) (2002-2002)

Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West (MPIGO) (2002-2003)

Republican Forces of the Ivory Coast (FRCI) (2004-2004)

Defense Forces and Impartial Security of the Ivory Coast (FDSI-CI) (2011-2011)

Young Patriots (2002-2007)

Front for the Liberation of the Greater West (2004-2008)

Death Squads (2002-2005)

Student Federation of Cote d'Ivoire (FESCI) (2002-2007)

Young Patriots

Rivalry #1: Student Federation of Cote d'Ivoire (FESCI)

Violence

Young Patriots (2002-2007)

Rivalry #1: Student Federation of Cote d'Ivoire (FESCI) (2002-2007)

Violence: (2004)

Notes: Symmetric (2004)

- (2004) Violence on Ivorian campuses erupted before the civil war, when Charles Ble Goude, now the leader of the pro-government Young Patriots, cracked down on an opposition faction within FESCI. About a dozen students were killed during the violence, either cut up with machetes or thrown out of the windows of high campus buildings.¹

Violence Location:

- Campuses (2004)

Casualties:

- 12 (2004)

¹ (July 8, 2004). "Ivory Coast/Students." *Voice of America News*.

Liberia

All Groups and Years:

National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) (1990-1994)

INPFL (1990-1990)

LURD (2000-2003)

MODEL (2003-2003)

National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) (1997-2003)

United Liberation Movement for Democracy - Johnson (ULIMO-J) (1995-1996)

United Liberation Movement for Democracy - Kromah (ULIMO-K) (1995-1997)

Anti-Terrorist Unit (1997-2003)

Government of Liberia (GOL) militias (2000-2003)

Small Boys' Unit (1995-2003)

Jungle Fire Militia/Unit (2003-2003)

Wild Geese (2002-2003)

Special Security Services (1997-2003)

NPFL

Rivalry #1: INPFL

Threat

Violence

LURD

Rivalry #1: Anti-Terrorist Unit

Violence

Rivalry #2: Government of Liberia (GOL) militia(s)

Violence

MODEL

Rivalry #1: Government of Liberia (GOL)

Violence

United Liberation Movement for Democracy – Johnson (ULIMO-J)

Rivalry #1: ULIMO-K

Denouncement

Violence

NPFL (1990-1994)

Rivalry #1: INPFL (1990-1990)

Threat: (1990)

Notes: NPFL→INPFL (1990)

- (1990) The INPFL rebels were surrounded by government troops, and threatened from the north and east by Charles Taylor's NPFL forces.¹

Violence: (1990)

Notes: Symmetric (1990)

- (1990) Sources reported that Johnson and Taylor [INPFL and NPFL leaders] were still fighting one another, despite rumours that the two men had reconciled their differences and teamed up against President Doe.²

Violence Location:

- Monrovia (1990)

¹ (August 3, 1990). "Liberia fighting in Monrovia Continues." *BBC Summary of World Events*.

² (July 28, 1990). "Liberia Breakaway Rebel Faction Reaches Central Monrovia." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

LURD (2000-2003)

General Group Notes: LURD is anti-Taylor

Rivalry #1: Anti-Terrorist Unit (1997-2003)

Violence: (2002-2003)

Notes: LURD→ATU (2002, 2003)

- (2002) LURD rebels have killed more than 20 officers from the ATU in an ambush in the northwest of the country.³
- (2002) Rebels of the LURD attacked a base of the ATU overnight at Gbartala.⁴
- (2003) Seven commandos of the ATU, fighting alongside the Armed Forces of Liberia and the NPFL to forestall the rebels of the LURD, are reported to have surrendered to the Sierra Leone army at Normo Farma.⁵
- (2003) Government forces said that the LURD had been advancing since Sunday and had taken over former president Charles Taylor's farm and the headquarters of his ATU in the town of Gbatala.⁶

Violence Location:

- Gbah 5/2002
- Gbartala 9/2002
- Gbatala 8/2003

Casualties:

- 20 (2002)

³ (May 30, 2002). "Rebels Kill More Than 20 Liberian Officers in an Ambush." *Agence France Presse*.

⁴ (September 18, 2002). "Liberian Rebels Attack Government Military Base Near Gbarnga." *Agence France Presse*.

⁵ (May 2, 2003). "Sierra Leone: Taylor's commandos Surrender." *Africa News*.

⁶ (August 27, 2003). "Thousands on the Move in Liberia; Many Fear New Fighting." *The Washington Post*.

LURD (2000-2003)

Rivalry #2: Government of Liberia (GOL) militia(s) (2000-2003)

Violence: (2003)

Notes: Symmetric (2003)

- (2003) ECOMIL, which comprises two battalions of Nigerian troops, one battalion from Guinea Bissau, as well as companies from Togo, Senegal, Mali and Ghana, has succeeded in ending fighting between LURD and Government of Liberia (GOL).⁷(10/1/2003. “Liberians happy about...”)

Violence Location:

- N/A

⁷ (October 1, 2003). “Liberians Happy About the Coming of UN Force.” *Agence France Presse*.

MODEL (2003-2003)

General Group Notes: Formed to fight insurgents backed by Taylor. Attacks from Ivory Coast, so possibly extraterritorial

Rivalry #1: Government of Liberia (GOL) militia(s) (2000-2003)

Violence: (2003)

Notes: Symmetric (2003)

- ECOMIL, which comprises two battalions of Nigerian troops, one battalion from Guinea Bissau, as well as companies from Togo, Senegal, Mali and Ghana, has succeeded in ending fighting between GOL and MODEL.⁸ (10/1/2003. “Liberians happy about the coming of UN force.”)

Violence Location:

- N/A

⁸ (October 1, 2003). “Liberians Happy About the Coming of UN Force.” *Agence France Presse*.

United Liberation Movement for Democracy – Johnson (ULIMO-J) (1995-1996)

General Group Notes: Split from ULIMO. Ethnic Krahn faction led by General R. Johnson

Rivalry #1: ULIMO-K (1995-1997)

Denouncement: (1996)

Notes: ULIMO -J→ULIMO -K (1996)

- (1996) General Johnson of ULIMO-J blamed the present crisis in Liberia on NPFL leader, Charles Taylor, and Alhaji Kromah of Ulimo-K who, he said, are greedy for power and determined to seize this power at whatever cost.⁹

Violence: (1996)

Notes: Symmetric (1996)

- (1996) Monrovia lies in ruins, the result of fierce fighting by Charles Taylor's NPFL and Alhaji Kromah's ULIMO-K rebels against Roosevelt Johnson's breakaway faction of ULIMO-J.¹⁰
- (1996) The fighting reportedly started some 10 days earlier when the faction's Mandingo wing (ULIMO-K), attacked rival ethnic Krahn fighters (ULIMO-J) headquartered in Tubmanburg.¹¹
- (1996) The Krahn militias denied they were the aggressors. "We're not fighting, we're defending ourselves," said Col. Brown Blayee of the Liberia Peace Council. "The NPFL and ULIMO-K have attacked us and we're just defending ourselves."¹²
- (1996) There are reports of an outbreak of fighting in Grand Cape Mount County by Ulimo-J on one side and Ulimo-K on the other side.¹³

Violence Location:

⁹ (May 7, 1996). "Liberia rivals resume fierce fighting in the west." *Africa News*.

¹⁰ (May 1996). United States and Africa State Department.

¹¹ (April 1996). "United States and Africa State Department: Liberia's bleakest moment." *Africa News*.

¹² (April 15, 1996). "AM-Liberia, NL bgt; Night lead budget; shooting and looting reported in Liberian capital." *The Canadian Press*.

¹³ (August 1996). "NPFL radio reports fighting between Ulimo factions." BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

- Suehn (1996)
- Lofa Bridge (1996)
- Monrovia (1996)
- Grand Cape Mount County (1996)

Casualties:

Libya

All Groups and Years:

Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries (2014-2015)

Haftar Militia (2014)

Barqa Province of the Islamic State (2014-2015)

Tripoli Province of the Islamic State (2014-2015)

Ansar al-Sharia (2012-2015)

Forces of the House of Representatives (2014-2015)

Forces of Muammar Gaddafi (2011)

Zintan Brigades (2014)

NTC (2011)

Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) (2013)

Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) (2014)

Muslim Brotherhood (2014-2015)

Sudan Liberation Movement (2008)

Takfir wal-Hijra (Excommunication and Exodus) (2013)

People's Cavalry Force (1990-2005)

Revolutionary Guards (1990-2005)

Revolutionary Committees (1990-2007)

Haftar Militia (2014)

Rivalry #1: Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries (2014-2015)

Denouncement: (2014)

Threat: (2014)

Violence: (2014)

Rivalry #2: Ansar al-Sharia (2012-2015)

Denouncement: (2014)

Violence: (2014)

NTC (2011)

Rivalry #1: Forces of Muammar Gaddafi

Threat: (2011)

Violence: (2011)

Zintan Brigades (2014)

Rivalry #1: Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries

Violence: (2014)

Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries (2014-2015)

Rivalry #1: Barqa Province

Violence: (2015)

Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries (2014-2015)

Rivalry #2: Muslim Brotherhood

Denouncement: (2014)

Muslim Brotherhood (2014-2015)

Rivalry #1: Ansar al-Sharia (2012-2015)

Denouncement: (2014)

Muslim Brotherhood (2014-2015)

Rivalry #2: Zintan Brigades (2014)

Denouncement: (2014)

Haftar Militia (2014)

Rivalry #1: Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries (2014-2015)

Denouncement: (2014)

Notes: Symmetric (2014)

- The Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries accused the Haftar Militia of spreading chaos.¹
- Haftar Militia accused the Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries of smuggling weapons from Benghazi.²

Threat: (2014)

Notes: Haftar Militia→Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries (2014)

- (2014) Haftar Militia called for a popular uprising against the Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries in Benghazi.³
- (2014) Haftar Militia warned that it would attack the port to prevent ships from docking and supplying weapons to the Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries.⁴

Violence: (2014)

Notes: Symmetric (2014)

- (2014) The Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries used tanks and fighter jets to target the Haftar Militia.⁵
- (2014) Haftar Militia warplanes flew over Benghazi, and the Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries fired anti-aircraft rounds at the plane.⁶
- (2014) Shura Council of the Benghazi Revolutionaries and the Haftar Militia fought at the airport.⁷
- (2014) Heavy fighting took place between the Shura Council of the Benghazi

¹ (2014). "Libya's Islamists claim capture of key base in Benghazi." *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

² (2014). "Libya's Gen Haftar orders Benghazi port shut, vessels directed to Tobruk." *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

³ (2014). *Al Ahrām*.

⁴ (2014). *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

⁵ (2014). "Rival militias fight for Libya's Benghazi." *Al Jazeera*.

⁶ (2014). "Haftar's forces launch air strikes on port in Libya's Benghazi." *Al Jazeera*.

⁷ (2014). *Digital Journal*.

Revolutionaries and the Haftar Militia.⁸

- (2014) The Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries backed Al-Sabri residents in capturing and killing soldiers of the Haftar Militia.⁹
- (2014) The Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries captured a key military base of the Haftar Militia.¹⁰
- (2014) The Haftar Militia fired gas shells on the Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries.¹¹
- (2014) The Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries and Haftar Militia fought in Benghazi, killing 20 people and injuring 90 others.¹²
- (2014) The Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries seized the headquarters of the Sa'iqah Special Forces, which are loyal to the Haftar Militia.¹³
- (2014) The Haftar Militia bombarded positions in the center of Benghazi after the Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries surrounded the camp of the pro-Haftar 204 Battalion.¹⁴
- (2014) The Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries and the Haftar Militia clashed in several neighborhoods.¹⁵

Casualties:

- 110 (2014)

Violence Location:

- Benghazi (2014)
- Tripoli (2014)

⁸ (2014). "Heavy fighting between Haftar-led forces, Islamist militias in Libya's Benghazi." *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

⁹ (2014). "Libyan militias 'control' key camp, to 'defend Benghazi to death'." *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

¹⁰ (2014). "Libya's Islamists claim capture of key base in Benghazi." *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

¹¹ (2014). "Libya's Islamist militias claim Haftar attacked them with gas shells." *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

¹² (2014). "Soldiers killed in twin suicide attack in Libya's Benghazi." *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

¹³ (2014). "Soldiers killed in twin suicide attack in Libya's Benghazi." *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

¹⁴ (2014). "Libya's Islamists '100 percent sure' of their position in Benghazi fighting." *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

¹⁵ (2014). *Pan African News Agency*.

Haftar Militia (2014)

Rivalry #2: Ansar al-Sharia (2012-2015)

Denouncement: (2014)

Notes: Ansar al-Sharia →Haftar (2014)

- (2014) Ansar al-Sharia said a confrontation with Haftar Militia is “now inevitable.”¹⁶

Violence: (2014)

Notes: Symmetric (2014)

- (2014) Haftar Militia launched an airstrike against Ansar al-Sharia. Fighting continued throughout the year. ¹⁷

Violence Location:

- Benghazi (2014)
- Tripoli (2014)

¹⁶ (2014). *AFP*.

¹⁷ (2014). *FT.com*.

NTC (2011)

Rivalry #1: Forces of Muammar Gaddafi

Threat: (2011)

Notes: NTC→Gaddafi

- (2011) An NTC spokesperson said they will fight Gaddafi forces and that they don't need an air force.¹⁸

Violence: (2011)

Notes: Symmetric

- (2011) Gaddafi deployed forces to crush democratic uprising. NTC forces attacked Gaddafi forces and captured and killed Gaddafi.¹⁹

¹⁸ (2011). *Gulf News*.

¹⁹ (2011). *Frontier Star*.

Zintan Brigades (2014)

Rivalry #1: Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries

Violence: (2014)

Notes: Zintan → SCBR

- (2014) Zintan Brigades members abducted allies of the Shura Council Benghazi Revolutionaries and beat and tortured them before negotiating release.²⁰

²⁰ (2014). *Libya Rule of the Gun*.

Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries (2014-2015)

Rivalry #1: Barqa Province

Violence: (2015)

Notes: Symmetric

- (2015) The Barqa Province engaged in an armed confrontation against the Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries in Derna, after the Council refused to pledge allegiance to the Islamic State.²¹

²¹ (2015). "Anarchy leaves Libya vulnerable to expansion of Islamic State affiliates, potentially threatening oil sector." *IHS Global Insight*.

Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries (2014-2015)

Rivalry #2: Muslim Brotherhood

Denouncement: (2014)

Notes: SCBR→Muslim Brotherhood

- (2014) The Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries denounced the Muslim Brotherhood.²²
- (2014) The Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries accused the Muslim Brotherhood of “ignoring the true mujahdeen, saying they won’t allow the plot to succeed.”²³

²² (2014). “Ansar Al-Sharia and the Muslim Brotherhood in Benghazi split over local council. ” *Legal Monitor Worldwide*.

²³ (2014). “Islamist vs. Jihadist: Complications Grow in Libya's Benghazi.” *Antiwar.com News Articles*.

Muslim Brotherhood (2014-2015)

Rivalry #1: Ansar al-Sharia (2012-2015)

Denouncement: (2014)

Notes: Ansar al-Sharia→Muslim Brotherhood

- (2014) The Ansar al-Sharia denounced the Muslim Brotherhood.²⁴

²⁴ (2014). "Ansar Al-Sharia and the Muslim Brotherhood in Benghazi split over local council." *Legal Monitor Worldwide*.

Muslim Brotherhood (2014-2015)

Rivalry #2: Zintan Brigades (2014)

Denouncement: (2014)

Notes:

- (2014) The Muslim Brotherhood attacked the Zintan Brigades.²⁵

²⁵ (2014). "Sustained fighting in Libyan capital presents severe risks to personnel, airports, energy, government and commercial property." *IHS Global Insight*.

Mali

All Group and Years:

ANTNMC (2007-2009)

AQIM (2007-2015)

Ansar al-Dine (2012-2015)

Azawad National Liberation Movement (MNLA) (2012-2015)

CMA (2012-2015)

MUJAO (2012-2015)

Military Faction (Red Berets) (2012)

Signed-in-Blood Battalion (2013)

al-Murabitun (2014)

FLM (2015)

Salafist Group for Preaching and Fighting (GSPC) (2005)

Azawad National Liberation Movement (MNLA)

Rivalry #1: Ansar al-Dine

Denouncement

Rivalry #2: MUJAO

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #3: AQIM

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

CMA

Rivalry #1: MUJAO

Denouncement

Azawad National Liberation Movement (MNLA) (2012-2015)

Rivalry #1: Ansar al-Dine (2012-2015)

Denouncement: (2012)

Notes: MNLA→Ansar al -Dine (2012)

- (2012) “What I deduce from reading MNLA communiques is that they disagree with Ansar al-Dine’s goals. The MNLA’s stated primary goal is the independence of Azawad.”¹

Violence: (2012-2015)

Notes: Symmetric (2012, 2013); Ansar al-Dine→MNLA (2015)

- (2012) Ansar al-Dine executed two men in Gao and amputated the hands of an MNLA rebel in Kidal.²
- (2012) Ansar al-Dine took part in a fight and claimed to have wrested control of Timbuktu from the MNLA.³
- (2012) Fighting was recording between MNLA and Ansar al-Dine.⁴
- (2012) Several acts of violence occurred between MNLA and Ansar al-Dine in May and in autumn.⁵
- (2012) Ansar al-Dine joined forces with AQIM and MUJAO to evict the MNLA from Kidal and Timbuktu.⁶
- (2013) MNLA came under heavy machine gun fire from Ansar al-Dine.⁷
- (2013) MNLA captured two senior Islamist fighters from Ansar al-Dine and MUJAO.⁸

¹ (2012). “Mali; Divisions among rebels threaten north.” *Africa News*.

² (2012). “War crimes by northern rebels - armed groups commit rape, use child soldieriers [press release].” *Human Rights Watch*.

³ (2012). “Mali; A timeline of northern conflict.” *Africa News*.

⁴ (2012). “Nigeria, others to deploy troops to Mali.” *Daily Trust*.

⁵ (2015). “Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project.” *ACLED*.

⁶ (2014). *IHS Global Insight*.

⁷ (2013). “Islamists’ redoubt in Mali is attacked.” *Washington Post*.

⁸ (2013). “Will romanticizing the Ruareg threaten peace in Mali.” *FRANCE 24*.

- (2015) Ansar al-Dine attacked an MNLA camp in the Kidal region, killing six fighters, including Ballaa Ag Cherif, brother of the MNLA secretary-general.⁹

Violence Location

- Timbuktu, Kidal (2012)

⁹ (2016). “Fragile peace agreement in northern Mali threatens to collapse, heightening risk of escalating jihadist attacks.” *IHS Global Insight*.

Azawad National Liberation Movement (MNLA) (2012-2015)

Rivalry #2: MUJAO (2012-2015)

Denouncement: (2012, 2014)

Notes: MUJAO→MNLA (2012); Symmetric (2014)

- (2012) MUJAO issued a statement saying, “We [are] in our war with MNLA, this secular movement that doesn’t want the implementation of the Islamic Sharia.”¹⁰
- (2014) MNLA implicated MUJAO in the killing of 25 Tuareg civilians near Tamkoutate in Gao, claiming six MUJAO members had been killed in a retaliatory attack.¹¹

Violence: (2012-2014)

Notes: Symmetric (2012-2014)

- (2012) MUJAO drove MNLA from northern Mali.¹²
- (2012) MUJAO fought against MNLA.¹³
- (2012) There was fighting in Gao between MUJAO and MNLA.¹⁴
- (2012) MNLA killed 55 MUJAO members.¹⁵
- (2012) There was violent fighting between the MNLA and the MUJAO in Gao. The MNLA was expelled from the city.¹⁶
- (2012) MNLA killed 19 MUJAO fighters in battles near Gao.¹⁷
- (2013) MNLA fighters captured two senior Islamist fighters from Ansar al-Dine and MUJAO.¹⁸

¹⁰(2012). “Northern Mali- the Politics of Ethnicity and Locality.” *ThinkAfricaPress*.

¹¹(2014). “Permanent French military base in Mali increases risk of jihadist attacks in the north “. *IHS Global Insight*.

¹²(2012). “Islamist armed groups spread fear in north - treat population humanely - release child soldiers - end attacks on religious shrines.” *Human Rights Watch*.

¹³(2012). *Daily Trust*.

¹⁴(2012). “Northern Mali - the politics of ethnicity and locality.” *ThinkAfricaPress*.

¹⁵(2012). “Mali; Terrorists, touaregs clash in northern Mali.” *Africa News*.

¹⁶(2012). “Mali; Most recent events since January 2012.” *Africa News*.

¹⁷(2013). “Mali: Tuareg MNLA denies Islamist group’s attack on its bastion.” *BBC*.

¹⁸(2013). “Will romanticising the Tuareg threaten peace in Mali.” *France 24*.

- (2013) MUJAO claimed responsibility for bombings, saying it specifically targeted MNLA.¹⁹
- (2013) MUJAO conducted bombings, saying they specifically targeted the MNLA.²⁰
- (2013) MNLA blamed car bomb attacks on MUJAO.²¹
- (2013) MNLA rebels helped the French fight al-Qaeda and its allies, including MUJAO.²²
- (2014) The MNLA implicated MUJAO in the killing of 25 Tuareg civilians in Gao, and claimed six MUJAO members were killed in a retaliatory attack.²³
- (2014) MUJAO worked with Ansar al-Dine and AQIM to evict the MNLA from Kidal and Timbuktu.²⁴

Violence Location:

- Gao (2012)
- Kidal (2014)
- In-Khalil zone (2013)

¹⁹(2013). "Fighting rages in northern Mali after suicide bombs." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁰(2013). "Fighting erupts in northern Mali after suicide bombs." *Agence France Presse*.

²¹(2013). "More suicide bombs hit Mali after battle that kills 20 Islamists." *Agence France Presse*.

²²(2013). "Islamists' redoubt in Mali is attacked." *Washington Post*.

²³(2014). "Permanent French military base in Mali increases risk of jihadist attacks in the north." *IHS Global Insight*.

²⁴(2014). "Permanent French military base in Mali increases risk of jihadist attacks in the north." *IHS Global Insight*.

Azawad National Liberation Movement (MNLA) (2012-2015)

Rivalry #3: AQIM (2007-2015)

Denouncement: (2012-2013)

Notes: MNLA→AQIM (2012 -2013)

- (2012) The MNLA blamed AQIM for the kidnapping of seven diplomats from the local Algerian consulate in Gao.²⁵
- (2012) The MNLA denied claims by the government of Mali that the group was tied to AQIM.²⁶
- (2012) A MNLA spokesman said that the MNLA shares no interests nor policies with AQIM.²⁷
- (2012) The MNLA accused AQIM of being protected by Mali because it is a cover for the massive cocaine trafficking industry that is controlled by rogue elements in the political-military elites of the government.²⁸
- (2013) The MNLA accused AQIM of kidnapping.²⁹

Threat: (2012-2013)

Notes: AQIM→MNLA (2012-2013)

- (2012) AQIM spokesman said the group would pursue fights of the MNLA and expel them from the northern region of Mali.³⁰

²⁵(2012). "War/Terrorism: Algerian."

²⁶(2012). "Stratfor: Mali besieged by fighters fleeing Libya." *defenceWeb*.

²⁷(2012). "Mali tureg rebels deny." *AFP*

²⁸(2012). "Mali's Tuareg rebellion.: What next?" *Weekly Cutting Edge*.

²⁹(2013). "Mali Rebel Groups Questioned After Journalists Killed; Slayings Rekindle Concerns About Country's Stability." *Wall Street Journal*.

³⁰(2012). "Tension brewing in northern Mali as militias rearm."

- (2013) AQIM threatened a leader of the MNLA.³¹

Violence: (2012-2014)

Notes: AQIM→MNLA (2012 -2014)

- (2012) AQIM drove MNLA out of northern Mali.³²
- (2012) The MNLA was sidelined by AQIM.³³
- (2012) The MNLA fought with AQIM, leaving four MNLA fighters seriously injured.³⁴
- (2013) MNLA rebels helped the French fight al-Qeda and its allies, including AQIM.³⁵
- (2014) MUJAO worked with Ansar al-Dine and AQIM to evict the MNLA from Kidal and Timbuktu.³⁶

Casualties:

- 4 (2012)

Violence Location:

- Ansongo, Menaka (2012)
- In-Khalil (2013)

³¹(2013). "Full-scale resumption of civil war unlikely in northern Mali in 2014 despite president's announced offensive." *Global Insight*.

³²(2017). "Mali conflict and aftermath: Compendium of Human Rights Watch reporting, 2012-2017." *Human Rights Watch*.

³³(2015). "Mali; Key dates since January 2012." *Agence France Presse*.

³⁴(2012). "North Mali clashes kill dozens, some unarmed: source." *Agence France Presse*.

³⁵(2013). "Islamists' redoubt in Mali is attacked." *Washington Post*.

³⁶(2014). "Permanent French military base in Mali increases risk of jihadist attacks in the north." *IHS Global Insight*.

CMA (2012-2015)

Rivalry #1: MUJAO (2012-2015)

Denouncement: (2015)

Notes: CMA→MUJAO (2015)

- (2015) CMA blamed MUJAO for attacks in Gao.³⁷

³⁷(2015). “Three civilians shot dead in Mali: local govt, security sources.” *Agence France Presse*.

Mozambique

All Groups and Years:

RENAMO (1990-2015)

Naparama (1990-1994)

People's Militia and Vigilance Brigades (1990-1994)

RENAMO

Rivalry #1: Naparama

Violence

RENAMO (1990-2015)

Rivalry #1: Naparama (1990-1994)

Violence: (1990, 1991)

Notes: Symmetric (1990, 1991)

- (1990) Manuel Antonio founded and led the militia Naparama in fighting against RENAMO.¹
- (1990) Working with government forces, Naparama soldiers pushed RENAMO into a retreat from a key strategic region. The Naparamas forced the rebels out of bases in the eastern areas of Zambezia, in parts of Nampula, and later in Cabo Delgado and Niassa.²
- (1991) Units of the peasant militia known as the “Naparamas” killed rebels of the RENAMO in clashes in the district of Mecuburi in the northern province of Nampula.³
- (1991) Manuel Antonio formed the Naparama peasant militia, armed only with spears and knives, to fight RENAMO.⁴
- (1991) Naparama units killed 140 rebels of RENAMO in clashes.⁵
- (1991) Naparama forces made two attempts to expel RENAMO from Lalaua.⁶
- (1991) Attacks in which 2,000 outlying village homes were burned to the ground appeared to be a punitive expedition against followers of Mozambique’s pro-government Naparamas cult, who fought against heavily armed RENAMO guerillas using only spears and bows and arrows.⁷
- (1991) RENAMO killed about 16 members of a 59-strong Naparama unit, including its commander, in a battle in the Mogovolas district of the Nampula province.⁸
- (1991) RENAMO rebels killed 16 members of Naparmas.⁹

¹ (1991). *Agence France Presse*.

² (2003). “Inside rebellion: The political economy of rebel organization.” *Harvard University*.

³ (1991). “Independent peasant militia kills 140 rebels.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁴ (1991). “Severed heads on shop shelves after Renamo massacres 1,000.” *The Independent*.

⁵ (1991). “Independent peasant militia kills 140 rebels.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁶ (1991). “Independent peasant militia kills 140 rebels.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁷ (1991). *United Press International*.

⁸ (1991). “Mozambique peasants fight rebels with magic; Mystic began movement by ‘vaccinating’ his followers against bullets.” *The Gazette*.

⁹ (1991). “Rebels kill 16 relying on “magic” protection.” *Agence France Presse*.

- (1991) Residents were forced to flee Lalaua in the northern Nampula province after RENAMO took over the town. About 1,000 people were killed during the takeover.¹⁰
- (1991) RENAMO claims that members of Naparama killed about 1,000 people in the takeover of Nampula.¹¹
- (1991) RENAMO singled out suspected Naparamas for instant death.¹²
- (1991) There was fighting between Naparamas and RENAMO in Zambezia and Nampula.¹³
- (1991) RENAMO killed Naprama leader Manuel Antonio.¹⁴
- (1991) The Naparamas mobilized hundreds of participants for each assault on a RENAMO base.¹⁵

Violence Locations:

- Eastern areas of Zambezia, in parts of Nampula, and in Cabo Delgado and Niassa (1990)
- Mecuburi (1991)
- Lalaua (1991)
- Mogovolas district of the Nampula province (1991)

Casualties:

- 140 (1991)
- 16 (1991)
- 140 (1991)
- 1,000 (1991)

¹⁰ (1991). "1,000 beheaded in Mozambique, survivors report." *The Toronto Star*.

¹¹ (1991). "Rebels killed 1,000 people, survivors claim." *Agence France Presse*.

¹² (1991). "Severed heads on shop shelves after Renamo massacres 1,000." *The Independent*.

¹³ (2011). "Herminio Dos Santos Promises More Demonstrations." *AllAfrica.com*.

¹⁴ (2011). "You can't fight poverty with pensions." *AllAfrica.com*.

¹⁵ (2003). "Inside rebellion: The political economy of rebel organization." *Harvard University*.

Myanmar

All Groups and Years:

People's Militia (1990-2006)

Union Solidarity and Development Association (1993-2007)

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (1994-2007)

Former Communist Party Militia (1990-1998)

Swan Ar shin (Masters of Force) (2003-2007)

KNU (1990-2013)

KIO (1990-2015)

NSCN-K (1991-2007)

RCSS (1996-2013)

KNPP (1992-2005)

ABSDF (1990-1994)

RSO (1991-1994)

MTA (1993-1995)

MNDAA (2009-2015)

DKBA 5 (2010-2013)

SSPP (2010-2013)

PSLF (2013-2015)

Kachin Independence Army (KIA) (1990-2015)

DKBA (1996-2014)

Buddhist Monks (1997)

God's Army (2000)

NMSP (1990)

BMA (2000)

Ka Kwe Ye-kky (1996)

UWSA (1997)

United National Liberation Front (UNLF) (2013)

Karen National Union (KNU)

Rivalry #1: Union Solidarity and Development Association

Violence

Rivalry #2 : Democratic Karen Buddhist Army

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #3: God's Army

Denouncement

Karen National Union (KNU) (1990-2013)

Rivalry #1: Union Solidarity and Development Association (1993-2007)

Violence: (1997)

Notes: KNU→Union Solidarity and Development Association (1997)

- (1997) An act of terror and destruction killed five persons, including members of security units, the Union Solidarity and Development Association, pilgrims and youths and students from the USDA. The KNU and the ABSDF insurgent organizations colluded in the attack.¹

Casualties:

- 5 (1997)

¹ (January 4, 1997). “‘Not a Single Drop of Blood Shed’ In Demonstrations Says Burma Leader.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Karen National Union (KNU) (1990-2013)

Rivalry #2 : Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (1994-2007)

Denouncement: (1995, 1999)

Notes: KNU→DKBA (1995, 1999)

- (1995) The KNU said: “The DKBA has no loyalty and is killing and robbing the people. The DKBA thinks nothing of killing and committing crimes. They don't want peace.”²
- (1999) “All DKBA operations are directed by the Burmese. The DKBA will do everything that the Burmese government wants it to do. The refugee camps which shelter KNU people are frequently harassed by the DKBA. This is particularly true of small DKBA units that do not understand the KNU. They hinder our operations.”³

Threat: (1995-1996)

Notes: DKBA→KNU (1995); KNU→DKBA (1996)

- (1995) The DKBA threatened more raids into Thailand to force some 70,000 Christian Karens back into Burma.⁴
- (1996) The KNU stated: “There will not be any dialogue with DKBA. We regard them as traitors unless they repent and defect to our side. The Buddhist Karen will be completely destroyed in the future. We will attack and get rid of them.”⁵

Violence: (1995, 1998, 2000-2002, 2007-2009)

Notes: DKBA→KNU (1995); Symmetric (1998, 2000-2002, 2007-2009)

- (1995) DKBA forces captured the Bo Mya led-KNU Manerplaw headquarters.⁶
- (1995) The DKBA launched the first of what was to be many raids across the border, kidnapping three senior KNU officials from a refugee camp.⁷

² (March 20, 1995). “Internal Affairs: Karen Leader Says Fall of Strongholds ‘Not Significant’.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

³ (1999). *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁴ (May 1, 1995). “Buddhist Karens Threaten to Invade Thailand Again.” *Deutsche Presse Agentur*.

⁵ (February 13, 1996). “Internal Affairs: Karen Leader Interviewed on Prospective Talks with Military Rulers.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁶ (February 23, 1995). “Fighting with Karen Rebels: Last KNU Stronghold Inside Burma Reportedly Captured.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁷ (1995). “Profile of Burmese Refugees in Thailand.” *HRW*.

- (1998) Two anti-KNU rebels were killed and one injured during a clash with pro-Yangon troops. 50 anti-Yangon guerrillas launched a surprise attack against the DKBA.⁸
- (1998) 70 armed men attacked Khot Ko village, killing two women and wounding a man and a child. Another band of 30 KNU fighters attacked another nearby village containing the families of DKBA rebels, killing 5 women and one man, while wounding two others.⁹
- (1998) There was a battle between KNU and DKBA. The KNU officers claimed they killed six and wounded four. The KNU claimed they suffered no casualties.¹⁰
- (1998) At least 50 people were killed inside Burma when KNU rebels launched a revenge attack on the DKBA.¹¹
- (1998) KNU rebels said they had recently attacked several jungle camps of their pro-Burmese rivals, killing at least 26 people. The KNU guerrillas attacked the DKBA camps in Thasongyang district and killed 20 people. Other KNU guerrillas attacked the DKBA camp at Khanaelay and killed three DKBA and three Burmese soldiers.¹²
- (2000) Five Myanmar soldiers, two ethnic rebel fighters and a villager were killed in a pre-dawn attack on a KNU outpost in the Phop Phra district.¹³
- (2000) Fighters of the DKBA fought alongside the Myanmar troops in the province of Tak. Two KNU rebels were killed and three Myanmar soldiers injured.¹⁴
- (2001) KNU members killed four DKBA in an attack Friday. Three KNU fighters were also killed and two injured after about 100 of their ethnic militia set upon the DKBA's Khome Ko camp.¹⁵
- (2001) At least seven people were killed in a clash between the KNU and the DKBA.¹⁶
- (2001) The KNU launched an attack against the DKBA that left two dead.¹⁷

⁸ (April 28, 1998). "Two Anti-Yangon Guerrillas Killed in Clash." *Japan Economic Newswire*.

⁹ (March 27, 1998). "Myanmar Junta Says Eight Villagers Killed in Karen Rebel Attacks." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁰ (August 7, 1998). "Rival Karen Guerrilla Groups Exchange Fire Inside Myanmar." *Associated Press International*.

¹¹ (March 27, 1998). "Asia: About 50 Karen Killed in Revenge Raid in Burma." *AAP Newsfeed*.

¹² (April 3, 1998). "Asia: Karen Rebels Launch Attacks on Rivals, Kill Dozens." *APP Newsfeed*.

¹³ (August 29, 2000). "Eight Killed in Raid on Karen Army Base: Thai Military." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁴ (August 21, 2000). "Myanmar Troops Storm Karen National Union Base: Border Sources." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁵ (December 14, 2001). "Myanmar Ethnic Militias Clash Along Thai Border." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁶ (December 14, 2001). "At Least 7 Killed in Ethnic Karen Clash in Myanmar." *Japan Economic Newswire*.

¹⁷ (April 23, 2001). "Border Fighting Escalates." *The Nation*.

- (2001) KNU soldiers reportedly fired on a base and hospital belonging to the DKBA. Then in a counterattack, DKBA and Myanmar troops attacked a KNU base. Three KNU and one DKBA fighter were killed while seven KNU and five DKBA were injured.¹⁸
- (2001) About 100 Myanmar troops and members of the DKBA opened fire with mortars and machine guns on a base belonging to the rebel KNU.¹⁹
- (2002) There was an offensive on a military camp of Myanmar government troops and their pro-Yangon Karen allies that left over 20 DKBA dead. At least four Karen villagers were also killed during the pre-dawn attack.²⁰
- (2002) Three dozen rebels from the KNU led a pre-dawn assault on the Palhu outpost.²¹
- (2002) The KNU attacked the rival Karen DKBA group's two bases opposite Tak province of Thailand.²²
- (2007) DKBA units attacked the 201 Battalion of the Karen National Liberation Army. 10 DKBA soldiers were killed and another 10 were injured, two KNU soldiers were killed and two were injured.²³
- (2007) DKBA fired several mortar shells into mobile KNU camps. Authorities did not immediately know if there were casualties.²⁴
- (2007) The ambush killed several DKBA members and critically wounded seven others.²⁵
- (2007) The DKBA's 907th Battalion was pounding the base of the KNU's 103d Battalion. The KNU believes that it may be the result of the DKBA's unhappiness over the defection of six of its soldiers with seven weapons to the KNU.²⁶

¹⁸ (July 8, 2001). "Four Killed in Fighting Between Myanmar Ethnic Militias." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁹ (December 26, 2001). "Villagers Killed, Hundreds Flee as Myanmar Attacks Rebel Base." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁰ (March 23, 2002). "Karen Rebels Enter Thailand After Attacking Myanmar Army Camp." *Japan Economic Newswire*.

²¹ (May 15, 2002). "Ethnic Karen Rebels Kill Five at Myanmar Military Outpost: Karen Leader." *Agence France Presse*.

²² (June 9, 2002). "Myanmar's Karen Rebels Attack Pro-Government Minority Groups." *Xinhua General News Service*.

²³ (March 20, 2007). "Karen Villages in Burma Protest Against Armed Conflict, Forced Labour." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

²⁴ (April 8, 2007). "Myanmar Military Offensive Drives 250 Ethnic Minority Karen to Flee into Thailand." *Associated Press International*.

²⁵ (May 1, 2007). "Four Reported Killed in Burma Ambush." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

²⁶ (August 9, 2007). "Thai Villagers Flee Burmese Karen Faction Shells; Army Isolates Kachin Force." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

- (2008) DKBA attacked a KNU campe losing one man and killing one KNU member.²⁷
- (2008) Burmese soldiers and the DKBA 907th Battalion fought the KNU at Valeki. One KNU soldier died and two others were injured.²⁸
- (2008) A total of 500 soldiers from the joint units of the Burmese government and the DKBA attacked KNU strongholds in Ban Borae village. The two sides exchanged fire, although no casualties were reported.²⁹
- (2009) An armed clash between the KNLA, and the DKBA broke out in Eastern Burma.³⁰
- (2009) Joint force of SPDC troops and DKBA soldiers raided the Waylekhi camp of the Karen National Liberation Army's 201st Battalion.³¹
- (2009) Fighting broke out between DKBA guerrillas and KNU at a KNU base.³²
- (2009) Fighting is continuing between soldiers from the KNU and the combined troops of SPDC and the DKBA.³³
- (2009) The Burmese army and the ceasefire DKBA are shelling the main base of Brigade 7 of the Karen National Liberation Army with long-distance mortars.³⁴

Violence Locations:

- Thibabo military base (1998)
- Khot Ko village (1998)
- War Hpot Kaw village (1998)
- Myawadi (1998)
- Phop Phra district (2000)
- Thai border, Ta Song Yang district (2001)

²⁷ (July 1, 2008). "Burma Website Reports Government Troops Raid Karen Camp." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

²⁸ (July 2, 2008). "Thailand/Myanmar (Burma): Thais Evacuated from Area Near Fighting Between Myanmar Troops and Karen Forces." *Thai News Service*.

²⁹ (October 6, 2008). "Thailand/Myanmar (Burma): Fighting Reported Between Myanmar Troops and Karen Insurgents Near Thai Border." *Thai News Service*.

³⁰ (January 6, 2009). "Burmese Pro-Government Karen Group Launch Attack Anti-Government Karen Group." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

³¹ (April 10, 2009). "Burma: Karens Battle for Camp; Thailand Asks Karen National Union to Hold Talks with Junta." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

³² (April 29, 2009). "Thailand: Three Thais Wounded after Myanmar Border Fighting." *Thai News Service*.

³³ (June 6, 2009). "Burma: Clashes Break Out as Ceasefire Karen Group Seeks New Recruits." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

³⁴ (June 7, 2009). "Joint Burmese Army, DKBA Offensive Continues Against Karen Group." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

- Myawaddi, Tak province (2002)
- Vallay Kee village (2007)
- Valeki (2008)
- Ban Boraе village (2008)
- Ban Padi village (2008)
- Southern Karen State (2009)
- Phop Phra district (2009)
- Pa-an District (2009)

Karen National Union (KNU) (1990-2013)

Rivalry #3: God's Army (2000)

Denouncement: (2000)

Notes: KNU→God's Army (2000)

- (2000) “The forced occupation of the provincial hospital is in violation of Thai sovereignty ... the KNU strongly condemns their deplorable act,” said a statement received by AFP.³⁵
- (2000) The KNU has condemned the God's Army action and disassociated itself with the group.³⁶

³⁵ (January 25, 2000). “Burmese Exiles, Refugees May Pay the Price for Thai Hostage Crisis.” *Agence France Presse*.

³⁶ (January 27, 2000). “Thai Army on Alert for Siege Retaliation.” *Agence France Presse*.

Nepal

All Groups and Years:

Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) (1996-2008)

Akhil Terai Mukti Morcha (ATMM) (2008-2015)

Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-M) (2005-2005)

Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (Baidya) (2013-2013)

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (JTMM) (2006-2013)

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha – Goit (JTMM-G) (2006-2008)

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha – Jwala Singh (JTMM-J) (2006-2010)

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha – Rajan Mukti (JTMM-R) (2008-2013)

Maoist Communist Center (MCC) (2005-2005)

People's Liberation Army (India) (2009-2009)

Ranbir Sena (2008-2009)

Samyukta Jatiya Mukti Morcha (SJMM) (2010-2012)

Terai Army (2007-2009)

Young Communist League (2007-2009)

Anti-Maoist Vigilantes (2001-2006)

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (JTMM)

Rivalry #1: Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M)

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #2: Young Communist League

Violence

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha–Goit (JTMM-G)

Rivalry #1: Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M)

Violence

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha – Jwala Singh (JTMM-J)

Rivalry #1: Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M)

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #2: Young Communist League

Violence

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha – Rajan Mukti (JTMM-R)

Rivalry #1: Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M)

Violence

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (JTMM) (2006-2013)

Rivalry #1: Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) (1996-2008)

Denouncement: (2006)

Notes: CPN-M→JTMM (2006)

- (2006) Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist Central Committee member and chairman of the Madhesi National Liberation Front announced a war against the JTMM.¹

Violence: (2006-2008)

Notes: JTMM→CPN-M (2006-2008)

- (2006) "We cannot tolerate the killings any more," said Yadav, adding the JTMM continued attacking and killing the Maoist cadres without responding to his party's call for dialogue. He announced a war against the JTMM.²
- (2007) The CPN-M and JTMM reached a ceasefire agreement. Tensions between CPN-M and JTMM escalated when the latter walked out of talks with Nepali government.³
- (2007) An armed group in southern Nepal shot dead a Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) cadre on Sunday...The JTMM's Military Commander Abhay Singh took responsibility for Kanu's killing...Prior to this, the Jwala Singh faction of the JTMM had also killed the CPN-M affiliated Young Communist League coordinator.⁴
- (2008) A communist candidate was in serious condition after the rebels of JTMM attacked him in the restive southern plains known as Terai. He sustained serious injuries to his back and chest after he was stabbed by the rebel group.⁵

Violence Location(s):

- Terai (2007, 2008)

Casualties:

- 2 (2007)
- 10 (2010)

¹ (July 17, 2006). "Nepal Maoist Group Leader Announces "war" Against Rivals." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

² (July 17, 2006). "Nepal Maoist Group Leader Announces "war" Against Rivals." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

³ (March 17, 2007). "Nepali JTMM and CPN-M Cease Fire." *Xinhua General News*.

⁴ (July 1, 2007). "CPN-M Cadre Killed by Armed Group in Southern Nepal." *Xinhua General News*.

⁵ (March 21, 2008). "Election Candidate Stabbed, Several Hurt in Campaign Violence." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (JTMM) (2006-2013)

Rivalry #2: Young Communist League (2007-2009)

Violence: (2007-2009)

Notes: Symmetric (2007)

- (2007) A Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha member was killed Thursday night. His party is blaming the murder on the Young Communist league.⁶
- (2007) A day after the UN expressed concern about growing "abuses" by the Maoist guerrillas, its militant youth wing, Young Communist League (YCL), went on a rampage in eastern Nepal, calling an indefinite shutdown and attacking half a dozen vehicles...The violence was triggered by the murder of one of their leaders, Govinda Chaudhary, by a group of JTMM members.⁷
- (2009) "Kantipuronline reports that an unidentified armed group shot dead the Young Communist League central leader Laxman Yadav in the Bishrampur Village Development Committee (VDC) area in Rautahat District on July 25. A little known underground outfit, the Terai Janatantrik Mukti Morcha-Arun, claimed responsibility for the murder."⁸

⁶ (July 27, 2007). "Fresh Closures Plague Nepal's Terai." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁷ (June 24, 2007). "Maoists Go on Rampage, Call Indefinite Closure in East Terai." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁸ (October 31, 2009). "Security Analysis on the International, Regional and Domestic Fronts - (Combined effort of PATHFINDER GROUP Task Force)". *Defence Journal*.

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha–Goit (JTMM-G) (2006-2008)

Rivalry #1: Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) (1996-2008)

Violence: (2007)

Notes: (Symmetric 2007)

- (2007) A CPN-M leader has been killed by members of JTMM-Goit in south Nepal...In Prasabani of Saptari district, a central member of CPN-M affiliated All Nepal Peasants Association (Revolutionary), was abducted and killed by JTMM-Goit cadres.⁹
- (2007) An armed group of JTMM-Goit members shot and killed a Maoist cadre in Bara District. An area committee member of the CPN (Maoist), was shot by JTMM cadres at Kalahi Jagadi area of Pipra Basantapur VDC.¹⁰
- (2007) The Maoist leadership has expressed its serious concern over the killings of three party cadres - one in Saptari and two in Rupandehi - in the last one week. While a Maoist activist was murdered by JTMM-G cadres in Saptari, two Maoist cadres were killed yesterday in Rupandehi when a clash ensued between the Maoists and Madhesi People's Rights Forum.¹¹

Violence Location(s):

- South Nepal, Prasabani; Saptari, Rupandehi; Bara District (2007)

Casualties:

- 5 (2007)

⁹ (July 13, 2007). "CPN-M Leader Killed in Nepal." *Xinhua General News Service*.

¹⁰ (June 4, 2007). "Two Shot Dead in Separate Nepal incidents." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

¹¹ (June 14, 2007). "Nepal Maoist Leaders Discuss Killing of Cadres in South." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha – Jwala Singh (JTMM-J) (2006-2010)

Rivalry #1: Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) (1996-2008)

Denouncement: (2007)

Notes: Symmetric (2007)

- (2007) According to local media reports on Monday, the armed cadres of the JTMM-J and police exchanged fire for more than two hours...The CPN-M claimed that a large number of police personnel were mobilized at the incident site after they tipped off the police about a possible attack Sunday afternoon.¹²

Violence: (2007)

Notes: JTMM-J–CPN-M (2007)

- (2007) Activists of the JTMM-J today shot dead a local Maoist leader following his abduction in Rautahat District.¹³
- (2007) Armed cadres of the JTMM-J assaulted member of Communist Party of Nepal-UML Yogya Bahadur Silwal with a knife, injuring him seriously.¹⁴

Violence Location(s):

- Rautahat District (2007)

Casualties:

- 1 (2007)

¹² (August 13, 2007). “Armed groups attack police, locals in southern Nepal.” *Xinhua General News Service*.

¹³ (November 15, 2007). “Nepal press selection list on 15 Nov 07.” BBC Monitoring South Asia.

¹⁴ (November 15, 2007). “Nepal press selection list on 15 Nov 07.” BBC Monitoring South Asia.

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha – Jwala Singh (JTMM-J) (2006-2010)

Rivalry #2: Young Communist League (2007-2009)

Violence: (2007)

Notes: JTMM→Young Communist League (2007, 2009 -2010)

- (2007) Activists of Jwala Singh-led Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (JTMM) gunned down the district coordinator of the Maoist-affiliated Young Communist League (YCL) near Fatuwa Harsaha VDC [village development committee area] in Rautahat District.¹⁵

Violence Location(s):

- Fatuwa Harsaha (2007)
- Rautahat Kantipuronline (2009)

Casualties:

- 1 (2007)

¹⁵ (June 5, 2007). “Local Maoist Student Leader Shot Dead in Southern Nepal.” *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha – Rajan Mukti (JTMM-R) (2008-2013)

Rivalry #1: Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) (1996-2008)

Violence: (2008)

Notes: JTMM→CPN -M (2008)

- (2008) Members of the southern plains-based Rajan Mukti faction of the JTMM shot dead a Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) worker in Siraha district in south-eastern Nepal on spying charges.¹⁶

Violence Location(s):

- Siraha District (2008)

Casualties:

- 1 (2008)

¹⁶ (October 15, 2008). “Nepal Press Selection List for 15 Oct 08.” *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

Nigeria

All Groups and Years:

Ahlul Sunnah Jamaa (2004-2004)

NDPVF (2004-2004)

Boko Haram (2009-2015)

Fulani Militants (2010-2015)

Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) (2006-2014)

Anambra State Vigilante Group aka Onitsha Vigilante Group aka Bakassi Boys
(2000-2002)*

Onitsha Traders Association Vigilante Group (1999-2000)

Neighbourhood Watch a.k.a Vigilante Groups 1996-2004)

Operation Vigilance (1998-2002)

Icelanders a.k.a Niger Delta Vigilante (2003-2005)

Zamfara State Vigilante (umbrella org. for various Sharia enforcement vigilantes)
(2000-2002)

Edo State Vigilante (2000-2001)

Abia State Vigilante Group aka Bakassi Boys (1999-2002)

Movement of Niger People for Justice (MNJ) (2008-2008)

Tribesmen (2015-2015)

NDPVF

Rivalry #1: Icelanders

Violence

Boko Haram

Rivalry #1: MEND

Denouncement

Threat

Anambra State Vigilante Group

Rivalry #1: Onitsha Traders' Association (OTA)

Violence

NDPVF (2004)

Rivalry #1: Icelanders

Violence: (2004)

Notes: NDPVF→Icelanders (2004)

- (2004) Two members of the NDPVF have been reportedly killed by men loyal to Ateke Tom's Icelander cult group in Port Harcourt.¹
- (2004) Three members of the NDPVF were killed at their home in the Abuja Estate area of the town. Asari [NDPVF leader] pointed the finger at arch-rival Ateke Tom [Icelander leader].²

Violence Location:

- Port Harcourt (2004)
- Abuja Estate (2004)

Casualties:

- 3 (2004)

¹ (November 4, 2004). "Two Killed as Militant Groups Clash in Port Harcourt." *Africa News*.

² (November 5, 2004). "New Storms Brewing for Niger Delta." *HIS Global Insight*.

Boko Haram (2009-2015)

General Group Notes: Islamic fundamentalists aligned with the Islamic State

Rivalry #1: MEND

Denouncement: (2009, 2014)

Notes: MEND→Boko Haram (2009, 2014)

- (2009) MEND deplore the wanton destruction of life and places of Christian worship that is ongoing in the Northern part of Nigeria by Islamic fundamentalists [Boko Haram].³
- (2014) MEND has condemned the abduction of 276 schoolgirls by the Boko Haram from Chibok, Borno State.⁴

Threat: (2013)

Notes: MEND→Boko Haram (2013)

- (2013) MEND declared it would unleash a campaign of terror against the Islamists led by the group known as Boko Haram.⁵

³ (July 29, 2009). "MEND Comments on the Boko Haram Crisis and Killings." *Sahara Reports*.

⁴ (May 11, 2014). "MEND Condemns Abduction of Chibok Schoolgirls, Demands Probe of Military Budget." *All Africa*.

⁵ (April 23, 2013). "Nigeria Christians Threaten Religious War." *UPI International Intelligence*.

Anambra State Vigilante Group aka Onitsha Vigilante Group aka Bakassi Boys (2000-2002)

Rivalry #1: Onitsha Traders' Association (OTA)

Violence: (2000)

Notes: Anambra→Bakassi

- (2000) On July 10, three members of the OTA were reportedly killed by the Bakassi Boys for aiding and abetting armed robbery.⁶

Violence Location:

- N/A

Casualties:

- 3 (2000)

⁶ (August 3, 2000). "Nigeria; Bakassi Boys." *Africa News*.

Pakistan

All Groups and Years:

Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) (2004-2015)

Baloch Ittehad (2006)

Baloch Republican Army (2007-2015)

Baloch Liberation Front (2009-2015)

Balochistan Liberation United Front (BLUF) (2009-2015)

United Baloch Army (UBA) (2011-2015)

Lashkar-e-Balochistan (2009-2015)

Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) (2007-2015)

TTP – TA (2012)

Jamaat-ul-Ahrar (2014-2015)

Abdullah Azzam Brigades (2011-2014)

Al-Mansoorian (2007)

Al-Qaeda (2002-2011)

Halqa-e-Mehsud (2014-2015)

Haqqani Network (2008-2013)

Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami (2007-2015)

Hizb-I-Islami (1991)

Jaish-e-Islam (2012-2015)

Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) (2002)

Jundallah (2008-2015)

Khorasan Chapter of the Islamic State (2014-2015)

Lashkar-e-Islam (2009-2015)

Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) (2009)

Mujahideen Ansar (2013-2014)

New People's Army (NPA) (2009)

Sindhu Desh Liberation Army (SDLA) (2001-2015)

Sipah-e-Sahaba/Pakistan (SSP) (1990-2006)

Taliban (2005-2014)

Taliban (Pakistan) (2002-2007)

Tehrik-e-Khilafat (2014)

Jamaat-e-Islami (India/Pakistan) (1990-2011)

Muttahida Qami Movement (MQM) (1990-2007)

MQM Haqiqi (1993-1994)

United Baloch Army (UBA)

Rivalry #1: Baloch Liberation Army

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #2: Baloch Liberation Front

Denouncement

Rivalry #3: Baloch Republican Army

Denouncement

Rivalry #4: Tehrik-e-Taliban

Denouncement

Baloch Liberation Army (BLA)

Rivalry #1: Baloch Republican Army

Denouncement

Rivalry #2: Baloch Liberation Front

Denouncement

Rivalry #3: Muttahida Qami Movement (MQM)

Denouncement

Rivalry #4: Lashkar e Balochistan

Denouncement

Rivalry #5: Al Qaeda

Denouncement

Rivalry #6: Taliban

Denouncement

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan

Rivalry #1: Jamaat-ul-Ahrar

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #2: Haqqani Network

Violence

Rivalry #3: Jundallah

Denouncement

Rivalry #4: Lashkar-e-Islam

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #5: Afghan Taliban

Denouncement

Rivalry #6: Jamaat e Islami (JI)

Denouncement

Afghan Taliban

Rivalry #1: Haqqani Network

Denouncement

Jamaat-ul-Ahrar

Rivalry #1: Jundallah

Denouncement

Sipah-e-Sahaba/Pakistan (SSP)

Rivalry #1: Jamaat-e-Islami

Denouncement

Rivalry #2: MQM

Denouncement

Rivalry #3: MQM Haqiqi

Violence

Muttahida Qami Movement (MQM)

Rivalry #1: Jamaat-ul-Islami

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #2: MQM Haqiqi

Denouncement

Violence

Al Qaeda

Rivalry #1: Jamaat e Islami (JI)

Denouncement

United Baloch Army (UBA) (2011-2015)

Rivalry #1: Baloch Liberation Army (2013-2015)

Denouncement: (2013-2015)

Notes: Symmetric (2013-2014) Baloch Liberation Army → United Baloch Army (2015)

- (2013) Personal rifts and jealousies led to cracks and fissures between the two groups.¹
- (2014) The death of the insurgency leader and fracture of the allied resistance group between BLA and UBA created greater tension between the two.²
- (2015) Multiple Baloch separatist groups, including the Baloch Liberation Army, condemned an attack on Pashtuns near Mastung, Balochistan, which was claimed by the United Baloch Army.³

Threat: (2013)

Notes: Baloch Liberation Army → United Baloch Army (2013)

- (2013) BLA death squads threaten the leader of UBA.⁴

Violence: (2014-2015)

Notes: Baloch Liberation Army → United Baloch Army (2014-2015)

- (2014) The UBA reported a commander was killed and four of its fighters were captured by BLA.⁵
- (2015) As many as 20 people were killed in an attack on UBA by BLA.⁶

Violence Locations:

- Karam Khan camp in Dera Bugti District (2015)

¹ (April 3, 2013). "Baluchistan and elections." *The Frontier Post*.

² (November 26, 2014). "Analysis: Managing the Baloch insurgency." *Dawn (Pakistan)*.

³ (June 4, 2015). "Igniting an ethnic powder keg?" *Daily Times*.

⁴ (June 2, 2013). "Baloch majority rejects separation." *The Frontier Post*.

⁵ (January 4, 2015). "Is this the end?" *Daily Times*; (April 26, 2015 Sunday). "Balochistan: Freedom, reconciliation, annihilation." *The News International*; (July 8, 2015). "The End of Pakistan's Baloch Insurgency?" *The Huffington Post*.

⁶ (August 31, 2015). "Security Analysis on the International, Regional and Domestic Fronts." *Defence Journal*; (June 29, 2015). "Up to 20 killed in clashes between separatist groups in Dera Bugti." *The Express Tribune*.

Casualties:

- 1 (2014)
- 20 (2015)

United Baloch Army (UBA) (2011-2015)**Rivalry #2: Baloch Liberation Front (2015)****Denouncement: (2015)**

Notes: Baloch Liberation Front → United Baloch Army (2015)

- (2015) Multiple Baloch separatist groups, including the Baloch Liberation Front, condemned an attack on Pashtuns near Mastung, Balochistan, which was claimed by the United Baloch Army.⁷

Violence Locations:

- Karam Khan camp in Dera Bugti District (2015)

Casualties:

- 20 (2015)

⁷ (June 4, 2015). "Igniting an ethnic powder keg?" *Daily Times*.

United Baloch Army (UBA) (2011-2015)

Rivalry #3: Baloch Republican Army (2015)

Denouncement: (2015)

Notes: Baloch Republican Army → United Baloch Army (2015)

- (2015) Multiple Baloch separatist groups, including the Baloch Republican Army, condemned an attack on Pashtuns near Mastung, Balochistan, which was claimed by the United Baloch Army.⁸

United Baloch Army (UBA) (2011-2015)

Rivalry #4: Tehrik-e-Taliban (2014)

Denouncement: (2014)

Notes: Tehrik-e-Taliban → United Baloch Army (2014)

- (2014) TTP condemned multiple attacks claimed by the UBA.⁹

⁸ (June 4, 2015). "Igniting an ethnic powder keg?" *Daily Times*.

⁹ (April 9, 2014). "REFILE." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*; (April 10, 2014). "24 killed over 100 injured in Islamabad fruit market blast." *National Herald Tribune*; (April 10, 2014). "Baloch insurgent group claims Islamabad bomb attack." *Iranian Government News*; (April 11, 2014). "Taliban key suspect in Islamabad bombing." *Daily The Pak Banker*.

Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) (2004-2015)

Rivalry #1: Baloch Republican Army (2007-2015)

Denouncement: (2007, 2014)

Notes: Baloch Liberation Army → Baloch Republican Army (2007); Symmetric (2014)

- (2007) In 2007, some BLA militants accused BRA of being involved in the missile attack that killed the chief of the BLA.¹⁰
- (2014) Fissures emerged between the two groups in 2014.¹¹

¹⁰ (November 27, 2014). "Pakistan: Analysis: Managing the Baloch insurgency." *Right Vision News*.

¹¹ (November 26, 2014). "Analysis: Managing the Baloch insurgency." *Dawn (Pakistan)*.

Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) (2004-2015)

Rivalry #2: Baloch Liberation Front (2009-2015)

Denouncement: (2015)

Notes: Baloch Liberation Front → Baloch Liberation Army (2015)

- (2015) The BLF released a statement terming the BLA as an obstacle to the “resistance.”¹²

¹² (January 4, 2015). “Is this the end?” *Daily Times (PK)*.

Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) (2004-2015)

Rivalry #3: Muttahida Qami Movement (MQM) (1990-2007)

Denouncement: (2006)

Notes: Muttahida Qami Movement → Baloch Liberation Movement (2006)

- (2006) On the subject of BLA, MQM leader stated that “the warring factions within the country are not in favour of Pakistan.”¹³

¹³ (April 9, 2006). “MQM will quit govt, says Altaf.” *The Nation*.

Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) (2004-2015)

Rivalry #4: Lashkar e Balochistan (2015)

Denouncement: (2015)

Notes: Lashkar e Balochistan → Baloch Liberation Army (2015)

- (2015) LEB criticized BLA for being more active on social media than on the actual battle ground.¹⁴

¹⁴ (June 2, 2015). "Pakistan: Pakistan: Situationer: Who's who of Baloch insurgency." *Right Vision News*.

Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) (2004-2015)

Rivalry #5: Al Qaeda (2007)

Denouncement: (2007)

Notes: Baloch Liberation Army → Al Qaeda (2007)

- (2007) BLA said they are not driven by religious extremism and chafed at questions suggesting similarities with Al Qaeda.¹⁵

¹⁵ (September 25, 2007). “America Over There.” *Dan Rather Reports*.

Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) (2004-2015)

Rivalry #6: Taliban (2007)

Denouncement: (2007)

Notes: Baloch Liberation Army → Taliban (2007)

- (2007) The BLA said they are not driven by religious extremism and chafed at questions suggesting similarities with the Taliban.¹⁶

¹⁶ (September 25, 2007). “America Over There.” *Dan Rather Reports*.

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (2007-2015)

Rivalry #1: Jamaat-ul-Ahrar (2014-2015)

Denouncement: (2014-2015)

Notes: Symmetric (2014-2015)

- (2014) Jamaat-ul-Ahrar (JuA) was formed after a leadership dispute within from Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP).¹⁷
- (2014) A JuA spokesperson, accused a TTP faction of attempting to create conspiracies to cause conflicts.¹⁸
- (2014) JuA denounces TTP's December 2014 attack on Pakistani school.¹⁹
- (2015) TTP's central spokesman chose to distance the group from an attack executed by JuA, claiming that targeting civilians is not their policy.²⁰

Violence: (2014)

Notes: Symmetric (2014)

- (2014) JuA and TTP were involved in fierce infighting that claimed over 100 lives.²¹

Casualties:

- 100+ (2014)

¹⁷ (November 5, 2014). "India's next: Nation on alert for Wagah-style atrocity after sinister warning from breakaway terror group spawned by Pakistan Taliban." *MailOnline*; (November 13, 2014). "Pakistani Taliban splinter group releases pictures of bomber." *Xinhua General News Service*; (August 27, 2014). "Another radical group splits from Pakistani Taliban amid military offensive against militants." *Canadian Press*.

¹⁸ (September 5, 2014). "Fazlullah has joined hands with killers of Taliban, says splinter group." *Dawn (Pakistan)*.

¹⁹ (December 18, 2014) "Jamaatul Ahrar denounces Peshawar attack amid national outrage." *The Dawn*.

²⁰ (December 29, 2015). "Death toll rises to 21, 56 others wounded in Pakistan suicide attack." *Khaama Press*; (December 29, 2015). "Suicide Attack Kills 26 in Mardan, Pakistan." *Voice of America News*.

²¹ (March 12, 2015). "Pakistan: Two groups join Pakistani Taliban coalition." *Anadolu Agency (AA)*.

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (2007-2015)

Rivalry #2: Haqqani Network (2008-2013)

Violence: (2011)

Notes: Symmetric (2011)

- (2011) The TTP and Haqqani Network militants gathered to settle a dispute in the Kurram Tribal District, where violence between the groups occurred. No peace resolution was met.²²

Violence Location:

- Kurram Tribal District (2011)

²² (December 22, 2011). "NEWS FEATURE: Al-Qaeda tries to unite Pakistani militants." *DPA (Berlin)*.

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (2007-2015)

Rivalry #3: Jundallah (2008-2015)

Denouncement: (2012-2014)

Notes: Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan →Jundallah (2012, 2013); Symmetric (2014)

- (2012) The TTP made a statement to distance itself from a Jundallah attack on a military convoy.²³
- (2013) A TTP spokesman dismissed Jundallah's claim for the July 2013 attack on the Nanga Parbat base and stated that the organization is not an ally of TTP.²⁴
- (2013) The TTP distanced itself from Jundallah's attack on a church— claiming the attack was an attempt to sabotage peace negotiations between TTP and the government.²⁵
- (2014) The TTP distanced itself from Jundallah after an array of attacks on Muslims.²⁶
- (2014) Jundallah separates from TTP and joins unity with Al-Qaeda and Jamaat-ul-Ahrar.²⁷

²³ (September 26, 2013). "Pakistan: Denial is face-saving exercise, says security official." *Right Vision News*.

²⁴ (July 5, 2013). "No dream tour." *Friday Times*.; (July 26, 2013). "Two factions of TTP responsible for Sukkur attack: Taliban commander." *Daily Messenger*.

²⁵ (September 24, 2013). "TTP terms attempt to sabotage talks." *Business Recorder*.

²⁶(February 6, 2014). "Pakistani Taliban deny links with Jundallah." *Iranian Government News*.; (March 12, 2014). "Pakistani Taliban say to abide by ceasefire." *Xinhua General News Service*.

²⁷ (November 2, 2014). "At least 54 dead, 88 wounded in Pakistan suicide bombing." *EFE Newswire-Americas in Focus*.

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (2007-2015)

Rivalry #4: Lashkar-e-Islam (2009-2015)

Denouncement: (2009-2014)

Notes: Lashkar-e-Islam → Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (2009-2014)

- (2012?) There have been multiple attacks on Lashkar-e-Islam centers; Lashkar-e-Islam blames TTP for the attacks.²⁸
- (2009-2014) Rivalries between TTP and LI continued uninterrupted between 2009 and 2014 for control over territory and resources, while LI repeatedly refused TTP offers for a merger.²⁹

Threat: (2010-2012)

Notes: Lashkar-e-Islam → Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (2011); Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan → Lashkar-e-Islam (2010, 2012)

- (2010) Following a TTP suicide attack on a Lashkar-e-Islam center, a TTP chief threatened death to anyone organized with Lashkar-e-Islam.³⁰
- (2011) Following a 2011 clash that resulted in 4 TTP militant casualties, a Lashkar-e-Islam commander stated that the militant group plans to aggressively occupy and clear TTP positions.³¹
- (2012) A TTP spokesperson stated that the militant group will continue to attack Lashkar-e-Islam.³²

Violence: (2010-2013)

Notes: Symmetric (2010-2013)

- (2010) LeI and TTP were involved in intense fighting, resulting in numerous casualties.³³

²⁸ (July 26, 2012). "1st LD IED blast kills 3 people in NW Pakistan." *Xinhua General News Service*.

²⁹ (March 16, 2015). "Merger of Lashkar-e-Islam with Tehrik-e-Taliban, Pakistan, added teeth to militancy in Pakistan." *Merinews (India)*.

³⁰ (August 22, 2011). "Tribal Militia: Defenceless under Fire." *India Blooms News Service*.

³¹ (December 1, 2011). "Four TTP men killed in fresh clashes with LI." *Plus Patent News*.

³² (March 24, 2012). "Pakistan Taleban claim responsibility for tribal area mosque blast." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

³³ (June 7, 2010). "Pakistan: Eight die in TTP-LI clash in Khyber." *Right Vision News*; (June 6, 2010). "21 die as two militant outfits clash near Landikotal." *Pakistan Press International*; (June 7, 2010). "Clashes between rival

- (2010) 7 TTP militants escaped from LeI's captivity.³⁴
- (2010) 35 LeI members were killed by a suicide attack from TTP.³⁵
- (2011) A TTP commander was allegedly killed by LeI.³⁶
- (2011) TTP militants blew up the house of a LeI commander that was abandoned for sometime.³⁷
- (2011) LeI broke into a TTP house and dragged out 3 members, who were later killed; two LeI militants were killed just days prior.³⁸
- (2011) In response to the murder of 12 TTP militants, in which commanders believed LeI was behind the attack, TTP sought to avenge. Four militants were killed in fighting between the groups.³⁹
- (2011) LeI attacked the Seria hilltop to recapture it from TTP.⁴⁰
- (2011) In a clash between TTP and LeI, four TTP militants were killed.⁴¹
- (2011) A TTP group and LeI spent multiple days fighting over positioning in the Tirah valley of Khyber Agency.⁴²
- (2011) Three LeI militants were allegedly killed by TTP militants.⁴³
- (2012) TTP claimed responsibility for a suicide bomb attack that killed several people, mostly LeI militants.⁴⁴

militant groups leave 25 dead in Pakistan's Khyber area." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*; (June 7, 2010). "Taliban-LI clash leaves 50 dead in Tirah." *The Statesman*; (June 8, 2010). "Pakistan: Death toll in TTP-LI clashes reaches 21." *Right Vision News*.

³⁴ (September 7, 2010). "Two guards killed." *Right Vision News*.

³⁵ (August 22, 2011). "Tribal Militia: Defenceless under Fire." *India Blooms News Service*.

³⁶ (January 22, 2011). "Pakistan: Militant behind high profile kidnappings killed in Khyber Agency." *Right Vision News*.

³⁷ (February 14, 2011). "Three militants injured as vehicle hits roadside bomb." *Plus Patent News*.

³⁸ (February 25, 2011). "Three militants shot dead in Bara." *Plus Patent News*; (February 25, 2011). "Pakistan militants kill rival group's supporters in tribal area." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

³⁹ (August 19, 2011). "Pakistan: Four militants killed in LI-TTP clash." *Right Vision News*.

⁴⁰ (August 24, 2011). "Pakistan: One TTP, six LI men killed in Tirah clashes." *Right Vision News*.

⁴¹ (December 1, 2011). "Four TTP men killed in fresh clashes with LI." *Plus Patent News*.

⁴² (December 3, 2011). "Tariq Afridi group of TTP ousted from Tirah: LI." *Plus Patent News*; (December 3, 2011). "6 killed in Khyber agency clashes." *The Frontier Star*.

⁴³ (December 18, 2011). "TTP hunts down three LI men in Tirah." *Plus Patent News*.

⁴⁴ (March 2, 2012). "2nd LD 23 killed in suicide attack in NW Pakistan." *Xinhua General News Service*; (March 2, 2012). "10 troops, 50 militants killed in Khyber, Orakzai." *Pakistan Today*; (March 4, 2012). "Senate elections." *Daily Times*; (March 5, 2012). "Pakistan daily urges army to launch "multi-pronged" strikes to eliminate Taliban." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

- (2012) Four militants were killed and three others injured when TTP attacked the hideouts of LeI.⁴⁵
- (2012) TTP claimed responsibility for a suicide bomb attack that resulted in the death of at least 13 militants.⁴⁶
- (2012) TTP killed five militants of LeI and destroyed the organization's hideouts.⁴⁷
- (2012) There is evidence to suggest that LeI and TTP have been engaging in violence since October 2011 through 2013 to gain control of major parts in Pakistan, including Khyber Agency and Akka Khel.⁴⁸
- (2013) 80 TTP, 7 LeI, 28 Ansarul Islam, and 3 Qamarkhel peace militants died in major clashes between the groups that spanned over 5 days. However, it is important to note that some statements suggest LeI and TTP are working together against Ansarul Islam.⁴⁹

Violence Location:

- Tabai Bazaar (2010)
- Bazar Zakha Khel (2010)
- Speen Drand (2010)
- Tirah valley (2010)
- Khyber Agency (2010)
- Bazaar Valley (2011)

⁴⁵ (March 5, 2012). "Four militants killed as banned organizations clash in Khyber Agency." *The Nation*; (March 5, 2012). "Khyber Agency clashes among banned outfits claim 4 lives." *Plus Patent News*; (March 6, 2012). "4 killed in banned groups clashes." *Daily The Pak Banker*; (March 10, 2012). "Resurgent militancy." *Weekly Cutting Edge*.

⁴⁶ (March 23, 2012). "2nd LD 13 militants killed in suicide attack in NW Pakistan." *Xinhua General News Service*; (March 24, 2012). "Bomber kills 13 in Khyber agency." *The Balochistan Times*; (March 24, 2012). "Pakistan Taleban claim responsibility for tribal area mosque blast." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*; (March 24, 2012). "Bomber kills 13 in Khyber agency." *Plus Patent News*; (March 24, 2012). "Suicide blast kill Pakistani militants in Khyber Agency." *Khaama Press*.

⁴⁷ (November 1, 2012). "Four militants killed in Tirah Valley as jets pound targets." *The Express Tribune*.

⁴⁸ (May 31, 2012). "Security Analysis on the International, Regional and Domestic Fronts (Combined effort of PATHFINDER GROUP Task Force)." *Defence Journal*; (July 27, 2012). "Three killed in Pakistan bombing." *Indo-Asian News Service*; (September 14, 2012). "IED explosion: Five passengers dead in blast." *The Express Tribune*; (November 1, 2012). "1st LD 10 militants killed in army operation in NW Pakistan." *Xinhua General News Service*; (November 2, 2012). "Khyber Agency: Four militants killed as jets pound TTP bunkers." *The Express Tribune*; (January 2, 2013). "14 militants killed in Khyber Agency." *Pakistan Today*; (January 2, 2013). "Eight militants killed in Khyber Agency." *The Balochistan Times*.

⁴⁹ (January 30, 2013). "Tirah valley: Jets bomb militant hideouts." *The Express Tribune*; (January 30, 2013). "An Illegal Militia's War for Northwest Pakistan." *Atlantic Online*; (January 30, 2013). "Security forces kill 33 militants in Pakistan's Khyber, Orakzai tribal areas." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

- Khyber Agency (2011)
- Zawa (2011)
- Bara Tehsil (2011)
- Sepah (2011)
- Bara tehsil (2011)
- Mehraban Killay (2011)
- Tirah Valley (2011)
- Seria hilltop (2011)
- Nakai Mehrbaan (2012)
- Tirah Valley (2012)
- Khyber Agency (2012)
- Bara (2012)
- Akka Khel (2012)
- Afghanistan border (2012)
- Khyber Sanghar (2012)

Casualties:

- 8-50 (2010)
- 2 (2010)
- 35 (2010)
- 1 (2011)
- 2 (2011)
- 3 (2011)
- 4 (2011)
- 4 (2011)
- 4 (2011)
- 11 (2011)
- 3 (2011)
- 4 (2012)
- 13 (2012)
- 5 (2012)

- 87 (2013)

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (2007-2015)

Rivalry #5: Afghan Taliban (2009-2014)

Denouncement: (2009-2014)

Notes: Afghan Taliban → Tehrik -e- Taliban (2009, 2011-2012, 2014); Symmetric (2010, 2013)

- (2009) The Afghan Taliban repeatedly disowned and separated itself from TTP, as a response to TTP's attack on Muslims.⁵⁰
- (2010) "It is widely known that the Afghan Taliban and TTP do not get along well and that the two groups prefer to stay out of each other's way."⁵¹
- (2011) The TTP has nothing to do with the Afghan Taliban who have repeatedly rejected the TTP.⁵²
- (2012) Mullah Omar, Afghan Taliban supreme leader asked TTP commanders to stop attacks. A TTP commander, Hakimullah Mehsud, refused to comply with the request.⁵³
- (2013) A TTP spokesman had claimed the Afghan Taliban were supporting Lashkar-e-Islam (a rival of TTP). However, Afghan Taliban were enraged by and refuted this claim and the TTP leadership later replaced this spokesman.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ (March 1, 2009). "Afghan Taliban repudiate links with Swat-admonish Bait Mehsud." *Rupee News*; (May 19, 2009). "End of US Exceptionalism & Crisis of Profilage: An exit strategy defines the limits of US power in the Hindukush." *Rupee News*; (September 9, 2009). "Pakistan under the Shadows of Terror II, Afghan links." *Ground Report*; (November 11, 2009). "Afghan Taleban deny reports of cutting ties with Pakistan counterpart - analyst." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*; (February 24, 2009). "Mullah Omar orders Taliban to stop attacking Pakistan forces." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*; (March 1, 2009). "Afghan Taliban repudiate links with Swat-admonish Bait Mehsud." *Rupee News*; (November 12, 2009). "Editorial: The al Qaeda connection?" *Daily Times (PK)*; (December 18, 2009). "Article says "mindless US bombings" into Pakistan to be disastrous for alliance." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

⁵¹ (March 10, 2010). "Police claim arrest of 4 'Afghan Taliban'." *Daily Times (PK)*.

⁵² (May 20, 2011). "Will the US retaliate against the TTP?" *Rupee News*.

⁵³ (March 8, 2012). "Pakistani Taliban in talks to heal rift: sources." *Agence France Presse*.

⁵⁴ (July 15, 2013). "Pakistan Taleban announce new spokesperson - report." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*; (September 2, 2013). "News Analysis: Cracks appear in Pakistani Taliban hierarchy over possible peace talks with gov't." *Xinhua General News Service*; (December 8, 2013). "Fazlullah's appointment causes rifts among TTP ranks." *Pakistan Today*.

- (2013) Afghan Taliban commander, Mullah Omar, "...had forbidden the Taliban from attacking the Pakistani security forces..." which resulted in greater friction between the two organizations.⁵⁵
- (2013) Differences developed within TTP and with TTP's relationship with the Afghan Taliban after the TTP inducted Mullah Radio as chief.⁵⁶
- (2014) The Afghan Taliban condemned the TTP's attack on a Pakistani school.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ (July 26, 2013). "Pakistan analysts discuss attack on intelligence agency office." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

⁵⁶ (December 8, 2013). "Fazlullah's appointment causes rifts among TTP ranks." *Pakistan Today*.

⁵⁷ (December 17, 2014). "1ST LEAD." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (2007-2015)

Rivalry #6: Jamaat e Islami (JI) (2009)

Denouncement: (2009)

Notes: Jamaat e Islami → Terik e- Taliban (2006, 2009)

- (2009) A JI party member turned against the TTP, characterizing them as Islamic illiterates, led by ill-educated village clerics.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ (July 19, 2009). "Taliban go from hero to zero in Pakistan." *The Toronto Star*.

Afghan Taliban (2005-2014)

Rivalry #1: Haqqani Network (2008-2013)

Denouncement: (2009)

Notes: Taliban → Haqqani Network (2009)

- (2009) A Taliban leader is opposed to many of the tactics the Haqqani Network is famous for, and openly criticizes such practices, like its use of suicide tactics, beheadings, and videos of brutal killings.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ (September 3, 2009). "Haqqani Network's Reign Of Terror On Afghanistan." *NPR Morning Edition (NPR)*.

Jamaat-ul-Ahrar (2014-2015)

Rivalry #1: Jundallah (2008-2015)

Denouncement: (2014)

Notes: Jamaat-ul-Ahrar → Jundallah (2014)

- (2014) In response to Jundallah claiming responsibility for a bombing attack at a Pakistan border parade, a Jamaat-ul-Ahrar spokesman called the claim “baseless.” JuA criticized Jundallah as a ‘fake’ Iranian group.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ (November 2, 2014). “Suicide bomber kills dozens at Pakistan border parade, police say.” *CNN*.

SSP (1990-2006)

Rivalry #1: Jamaat-e-Islami (1990-2011)

Denouncement: (1997)

Notes: SSP → Jamaat-e-Islami (1997)

- (1997) SSP turned away Jamaat-e-Islami's chief and members when they attempted to join the organization's meeting.⁶¹

⁶¹ (January 19, 1997). "Moslem militants torch Iranian Cultural Centre in Lahore." *Agence France Presse*.

SSP (1990-2006)

Rivalry #2: MQM (1990-2007)

Denouncement: (2000)

Notes: MQM → SSP (2000)

- (2000) MQM condemns SSP for killing two and injuring dozens of others.⁶²

⁶² (October 23, 2000). "POLITICAL.---MQM/CONDEMNS." *The Pakistan Newswire*.

SSP (1990-2006)

Rivalry #3: MQM Haqiqi (1993-1994)

Violence: (1994)

Notes: Symmetric (1994)

- (1994) MQM Haqiqi members clashed with SSP, killing one.⁶³

⁶³ (June 22, 1995). "11 killed in Karachi as rival factions clash." *Agence France Presse*.

Muttahida Qami Movement (MQM) (1990-2007)

Rivalry #1: Jamaat-ul-Islami (1990-2011)

Denouncement: (1990-1991, 2004-2007)

Notes: Symmetric (1990, 2006-2007); Jamaat-e-Islami →MQM (1991, 2005);

MQM→Jamaat-e-Islami (2004)

- (1990) There is internal tension within the government between the MQM and the Jamaat-i-Islami, which represent opposed ethnic groups.⁶⁴
- (1991) Jamaat-i-Islami “disapproves” of another organization having an alliance with MQM due to its long-standing rivalry.⁶⁵
- (2004) MQM criticizes Jamaat-e-Islami for its previous stances on government and calls them hypocrites as it relates to supporting oppressive police officers.⁶⁶
- (2004) MQM demanded that the government take action against Jamaat-e-Islami for its involvement in terrorist activities.⁶⁷
- (2004) In response to a potential Pakistan proposal to go after jihadi groups in the country’s mainstream religious parties, which includes Jamaat-e-Islami, the MQM leader, states that “Those who harm the basic interests of the state should be crushed.”⁶⁸
- (2005) A Jamaat-e-Islami leader condemned police raids that he believed the MQM was inciting.⁶⁹
- (2005) In response to an attack that resulted in at least one Jamaat-e-Islami activist death and the head of the party, Aslam Mujahid, being kidnapped, the Jamaat-e-Islami Karchi chief, blamed MQM for the attack.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ (March 29, 1990). “Political news: election results and new government, international news. Country Report.” *Business International*.

⁶⁵ (September 10, 1991). “Pakistan expands cabinet with 29 new ministers.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁶⁶ (February 11, 2004). “City: MQM criticises JI.” *The Pakistan Newswire*.

⁶⁷ (February 11, 2004). “City: MQM criticises JI.” *The Pakistan Newswire*.

⁶⁸ (August 11, 2004). “Pakistan may take on a religious giant.” *United Press International*.

⁶⁹ (April 5, 2005). “City: Raids on JI leader's residence condemned.” *The Pakistan Newswire*.

⁷⁰ (May 30, 2005). “Attackers kidnap, later kill, senior figure in Pakistan's largest Islamic group.” *Associated Press International*; (May 31, 2005). “Attack on US Fast-Food Chain Follows Sectarian Violence in Southern Pakistan.” *IHS Global Insight*; (May 31, 2005). “Six employees of KFC burnt alive in Karachi.” *Hindustan Times*; (May 31,

- (2005) MQM condemns Jamaat-e-Islami's accord because the organization believes both men and women are granted by the constitution the right to vote.⁷¹
- (2005) The leader in charge of the MQM criticized Jamaat-e-Islami's policies and said that the opposition was spreading hate against the Pakistani people.⁷²
- (2005) Following deadly violence allegedly committed by Jamaat-e-Islami in the region, MQM leaders and lawmakers urged authorities to take action against Jamaat-e-Islami to protect citizens.⁷³
- (2006) The MQM demanded the President and Prime Minister ban Jamaat-e-Islami.⁷⁴
- (2006) Secretary General of Jamaat-e-Islami brands MQM as "...born blackmailers who are enjoying full protection of the uniform despite their shallow announcement to quit the government."⁷⁵
- (2006) A Jamaat-e-Islami leader condemns MQM for allegations that the organization attempted the assassination of a Jamaat-e-Islami Nazim and Relief Coordinator.⁷⁶
- (2007) An MQM leader denies that they were involved in an attack that claimed several lives. He blamed Jamaat-e-Islami and other groups for the attack. Jamaat-e-Islami blames MQM and the government and states that there is evidence to support.⁷⁷
- (2007) Jamaat-e-Islami Amir states that "MQM who claims to represent the vulnerable people emerged as protector of oppressors system in the country..."⁷⁸

2005). "EDITORIAL: Violence grips Karachi." *The Nation (Pakistan)*; (June 2, 2005). "Treasury faces defeat in NA." *The Nation (Pakistan)*.

⁷¹ (July 24, 2005). "Muttahida slates bids to keep women away from polls." *The Pakistan Newswire*.

⁷² (September 17, 2005). "Altaf's birthday celebrated." *The Pakistan Newswire*.

⁷³ (November 8, 2005). "Pakistan party threatens to end quake relief effort after workers attacked." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*; (November 8, 2005). "200 supporters of Pakistan's largest Islamic group protest police raid in quake-hit city." *AP Worldstream*; (November 9, 2005). "Pakistan party ends relief work after attacks on workers - Indian agency." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*; (November 26, 2005). "MQM accuses JI, IJT of attacking Sindh assembly building, vitiating Karachi academic atmosphere." *The Pakistan Newswire*.

⁷⁴ (April 15, 2006). "Pakistan urged to ban Islamic group after Karachi blast." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

⁷⁵ (July 27, 2006). "Mqm Black-mailing General With Resignation Move." *The Balochistan Times*.

⁷⁶ (September 10, 2006). "Qazi Condemns Life Attempt On Former Nazim Karachi." *The Balochistan Times*.

⁷⁷ (May 14, 2007). "Oppn behind violence: Altaf." *Hindustan Times*; (May 14, 2007). "Violence Puts More Pressure On Musharraf." *The New York Times*; (May 27, 2007). "Karachi termed city of 160mn Pakistanis." *Pakistan Press International*.

⁷⁸ (June 2, 2007). "MMA holds demos against threats to media." *Pakistan Press International*.

- (2007) Jamaat-e-Islami blamed MQM for an attack on a bus that killed six, including 4 Jamaat-e-Islami supporters.⁷⁹

Violence: (2005-2007)

Notes: Symmetric (2005); MQM → Jamaat - e- Islami (2006-2007)

- (2005) Jamaat-e-Islami accused MQM of being involved in an attack that resulted in the death of at least one member and the kidnapping of leader, Aslam Mujahid.⁸⁰
- (2005) An MQM leader accused Jamaat-e-Islami of firing on MQM workers leaving polling stations.⁸¹
- (2005) An MQM leader accused Jamaat-e-Islami of the attack on its members in Muzaffarabad.⁸²
- (2006) Jamaat-e-Islami claimed that MQM planned an assassination attempt on a former Nazim and Relief Coordinator of Jamaat-e-Islami.⁸³
- (2007) AP reporters describe violent scenes of MQM activists yelling for ammunition and firing on buildings and at Jamaat-e-Islami activists.⁸⁴
- (2007) Jamaat-e-Islami alleges that MQM was behind a bus attack that killed four of its supporters.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ (September 13, 2007). "6 killed in attack on bus in southern Pakistan." *Associated Press International*.

⁸⁰ (May 30, 2005). "Attackers kidnap, later kill, senior figure in Pakistan's largest Islamic group." *Associated Press International*; (May 31, 2005). "Attack on US Fast-Food Chain Follows Sectarian Violence in Southern Pakistan." *IHS Global Insight*; (May 31, 2005). "Six employees of KFC burnt alive in Karachi." *Hindustan Times*; (May 31, 2005). "EDITORIAL: Violence grips Karachi." *The Nation (Pakistan)*; (June 2, 2005). "Treasury faces defeat in NA." *The Nation (Pakistan)*.

⁸¹ (August 25, 2005). "MQM accuses PPP, JI of hooliganism." *The Pakistan Newswire*.

⁸² (November 8, 2005). "Pakistan party threatens to end quake relief effort after workers attacked." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*; (November 8, 2005). "200 supporters of Pakistan's largest Islamic group protest police raid in quake-hit city." *AP Worldstream*; (November 9, 2005). "Pakistan party ends relief work after attacks on workers - Indian agency." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*; (November 9, 2005). "Ethnic-based group shuts relief office in Pakistani quake-hit town after clash with rivals." *AP Worldstream*; (November 9, 2005). "Ethno-political party suspends its relief activities." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁸³ (September 10, 2006). "Qazi Condemns Life Attempt On Former Nazim Karachi." *The Balochistan Times*.

⁸⁴ (May 12, 2007). "19 killed in Karachi gunbattles as Pakistan's ousted chief justice arrives for rally." *Associated Press International*; (May 12, 2007). "27 killed as judicial crisis threatening Musharraf's power descends into violence." *Associated Press International*; (May 12, 2007). "Pakistan: TV updates "at least" 20 killed in Karachi violence." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*; (May 12, 2007). "Up to 18 killed in clashes in Karachi." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*; (May 12, 2007). "30 Killed, 100 Injured In Karachi Violence." *The Balochistan Times*; (May 12, 2007). "Pakistan: Several said killed, dozens of vehicles torched in Karachi violence." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*; (May 12, 2007). "Several killed, dozens of vehicles torched in Karachi violence." *Xinhua General News Service*.

⁸⁵ (September 13, 2007 Thursday). 6 killed in attack on bus in southern Pakistan. *Associated Press International*.

Violence Locations:

- Karachi (2005, 2007)
- Latifabad (2005)
- Hyderabad City (2005)
- Muzaffarabad (2005)
- Hyderabad (2006)
- Southern Pakistan (2007)

Casualties:

- 1 (2005)
- 1 (2005)
- 30 (2005)
- 4 (2007)

Muttahida Qami Movement (MQM) (1990-2007)

Rivalry #2: MQM Haqiqi (1993-1994)

Denouncement: (1993-1994)

Notes: MQM →MQM Haqiqi (1993); Symmetric (1994)

- (1993) MQM founding father, Altaf Hussain, accused MQM Haqiqi and government intelligence agencies of Azim Tariq's, the party's chairman, murder.⁸⁶
- (1993) The faction Haqiqi broke away from MQM. MQM accused MQM Haqiqi of "...having switched its allegiance to the army."⁸⁷
- (1993) MQM accused MQM Haqiqi of "...killing its workers and preventing activists from campaigning in key Karachi and Hyderabad constituencies."⁸⁸
- (1993) Altaf Hussain, MQM founding father, said that "...MQM candidates were prevented from opening election offices and campaigning in the Landhi-Korangi subdistrict, controlled by the army-backed dissident Haqiqi faction of the MQM."⁸⁹
- (1994) MQM Haqiqi blamed MQM of masterminding the murder of its leader.⁹⁰
- (1994) MQM leader, Altaf Hussain, states that in order to hold talks with the government three conditions must be met: (1) the killers of MQM workers during the last month should be arrested and tried, (2) weapons in MQM Haqiqi's possession must be seized and (3) the Pakistan People's Party should be brought to an end.⁹¹

Violence: (1993-1994)

Notes: MQM Haqiqi →MQM (1993); Symmetric (1994)

- (1993) Altaf Hussain, MQM leader, accused MQM Haqiqi and the government of murdering the MQM chairman.⁹²

⁸⁶ (May 6, 1993). "Bhutto's party alleges rigging in Sindh by-election." *Agence France Presse*.

⁸⁷ (October 1, 1993). "Major party to boycott Pakistan election over alleged harassment." *Agence France Presse*.

⁸⁸ (October 3, 1993). "MQM boycott threatens election process." *Agence France Presse*.

⁸⁹ (October 6, 1993). "Voters stay away from polls in Karachi." *Agence France Presse*.

⁹⁰ (February 1, 1994). "3 persons killed in violence in Karachi, Pakistan." *Xinhua News Agency*.

⁹¹ (June 9, 1994). "Pakistan political party leaders sentenced." *Xinhua News Agency*.

⁹² (May 6, 1993). "Bhutto's party alleges rigging in Sindh by-election." *Agence France Presse*.

- (1993) Four MQM militants were killed by MQM Haqiqi, according to MQM sources and police.⁹³
- (1993) MQM accused MQM Haqiqi of “...killing its workers and preventing activists from campaigning...”⁹⁴
- (1994) MQM Haqiqi blamed MQM for masterminding the murder of its leader.⁹⁵
- (1994) MQM and MQM Haqiqi were engaged in violence that resulted in over 30 people being killed within a 40 day span.⁹⁶
- (1994) Three bodies were found in suburban Malir area, a stronghold of MQM. Two bodies were found in Korangi area, a stronghold of MQM Haqiqi. Another two bodies were brought to a city hospital in the Korangi area. Police believe the deaths derived from violence between the MQM and MQM Haqiqi.⁹⁷
- (1994) According to police, four MQM Haqiqi militants were killed in a drive-by shooting by MQM. There was one standby death. “Fighting between the two factions has claimed more than 100 lives...” in 1994.⁹⁸
- (1994) According to police, 17 people were killed due to violence between MQM and MQM Haqiqi.⁹⁹

Violence Location:

- Karachi (1993)
- Hyderabad (1993)
- Karachi (1994)
- Sindh Province (1994)
- Korangi area (1994)
- Eastern Karachi (1994)
- Shah Faisal colony (1994)

⁹³ (October 1, 1993). “Major party to boycott Pakistan election over alleged harassment.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁹⁴ (October 3, 1993). “MQM boycott threatens election process.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁹⁵ (February 1, 1994). “3 persons killed in violence in karachi, pakistan.” *Xinhua News Agency*.

⁹⁶ (July 21, 1994). “Two die of ethnic clashes in pakistan.” *Xinhua News Agency*.

⁹⁷ (August 15, 1994). “10 killed in karachi violence.” *Xinhua News Agency*.

⁹⁸ (November 3, 1994). “Tension in Karachi after five die in attack on MQM faction.” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁹⁹ (November 11, 1994). “Retransmitting to restore cycle designator Karachi Shootings Leave 17 Dead.” *Associated Press Worldstream*.

Casualties:

- 1 (1993)
- 4 (1993)
- 1 (1994)
- 30 (1994)
- 10 (1994)
- 5 (1994)
- 17 (1994) (one source says 100+ over year)

Al Qaeda (2002-2011)

Rivalry #1: Jamaat e Islami (JI) (1990-2011)

Denouncement: (2003)

Notes: Jamaat e Islami → Al Qaeda (2003)

- (2003) Chief of JI denounced allegations about his party's links with the Al Qaeda network as a conspiracy, claiming JI is a national organization against violence and that he does not believe in any Al Qaeda.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ (March 9, 2003). "Rally (Fazl rejects accusations against JI)." *The Pakistan Newswire*.

Philippines

All Groups and Years:

Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) (1990-2015)

Military faction forces of Honasan, Abenina & Zumel (1990-1990)

Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) (1990-2015)

Moro Islamist Liberation Front (MILF) (1990-2015)

Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) (1993-2015)

Moro National Liberation Front-Nur Misuari (MNLF-NM) (2001-2013)

Moro National Liberation Front-Habier Malik (MNLF-HM) (2007-2007)

Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Movement (BIFM) (2012-2015)

Alex Boncayao Brigade (ABB) (1994-2008)

Jemaah Islamiya (JI) (2000-2013)

New People's Army (1990-2015)

Greenans (1990-1993)

Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Units (1987-2007)

Alsa Masa/225 anti-communist vigilante groups (1986-1990)

Davao Death Squad (1995-2005)

National Alliance for Democracy (1998-2000)

Sagrados Corazon also known as Sagrado Corazon (1998-2000)

Nakasaka (1987-2007)

Pulahan (1988-2007)

Civilian Volunteer Organisation (1988-2007)

Ilagas (1967-2004)

Communist Party of the Philippines (CCP)

Rivalry #1: Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Units (CAFGU)

Violence

Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF)

Rivalry #1: Moro Islamist Liberation Front (MILF)

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)

Rivalry #1: Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU)

Violence

Rivalry #2: Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF)

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Movement (BIFM)

Rivalry #1: Moro Islamist Liberation Front (MILF)

Denouncement

Violence

New People's Army (NPA)

Rivalry #1: Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU)

Violence

Alsa Masa/225 anti-communist vigilante groups

Rivalry #1: New People's Army

Denouncement

Violence

Communist Party of the Philippines (CCP) (1990-2015)

Rivalry #1: Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Units (CAFGU) (1987-2007)

Violence: (1997, 2003-2004, 2006, 2009-2010, 2012-2013)

Notes: Symmetric (2006); CCP→CAFGU (1997, 2003, 2004, 2009, 2010, 2012 -2013)

- (1997) Npa guerrillas attacked two villages in paquibato district, some 60 kilometers from Davao city, and seized 22 members of the civilian armed force geographical unit.¹
- (2003) Around 30 New People's Army (NPA) insurgents swooped on the army detachment near Bayugan in the province of Agusan del Sur, triggering fighting. A soldier and a member of the Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Unit were killed in the attacks after which the gunmen carried away their firearms.²
- (2003) A band of NPA rebels hiding inside a rice mill building fired at an eight-man team of PA soldiers and Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Unit volunteers conducting security operations in a town in Sorsogon. A Philippine Army (PA) soldier and two NPA rebels were killed.³
- (2004) NPA rebels made their way into the home of one Victorio Gozul in Barangay Lebanon, peppering him with bullets. Mr. Gozul, it was learned, was an active member of a Civilian Volunteers Organization and was training for the CAFGU.⁴
- (2006) At least two Army men, three communist rebels and two civilians were killed and eight others were wounded in three separate encounters between military operatives of CAFGU and the NPA guerrillas in Agusan del Sur.⁵
- (2006) The CPP [communist Party of the Philippines] ordered the NPA to conduct more raids of military and police outposts in the countryside. A spokesman for the CPP congratulated their troops on their offensive over the CAFGU in Bukidnon.⁶

¹ (1997). *Xinhua News Agency*.

² (October 19, 2003). "Two dead in Philippines rebel attack." *Agence France Presse*.

³ (February 5, 2003). "3 killed as fighting erupts anew in central Philippines." *Xinhua General News Service*.

⁴ *Philippines: Moro blames Manila for "barbarism"*. BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring, August 21, 2008 Thursday.

⁵ (May 30, 2006). "7 Dead, 8 Wounded In Clashes Between Govt Troops And NPASs." *Manila Times*.

⁶ (August 26, 2006). "Philippine military says war against communist insurgency being won." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

- (2009) Communist insurgents shot dead two unarmed CAFGU members in a daring attack near a military post in Davao City.⁷
- (2010) Two paramilitary elements of the CAFGU were killed by the NPA on the spot while two others were wounded, including the commander of the Philippine Army detachment in the same village.⁸
- (2012) Elements of the CAFGU repulsed an attack on their detachment by 15 heavily-armed rebels in Barangay Hoyohoy, Tangub City. The raid transpired when NPA guerrillas, belonging to the CPP-NPA-NDF Mindanao Regional Party, fired at the CAFGU detachment in hopes of overrunning it.⁹
- (2012) Ten heavily-armed NPA fighters are being hunted for the fatal shooting of an unarmed CAFGU member in San Luis, Agusan Del Sur.¹⁰
- (2013) A patrol base of the CAFGU located at a remote village in Agusan del Norte, was attacked by members of the CPP/NPA rebels.¹¹
- (2013) Eight government troops were killed on Monday, while five others were wounded after they were reportedly attacked by members of the NPA in North Cotabato. Three of the killed troops are members of the CAFGU.¹²

Violence Location(s):

- Davao City (1997, 2009)
- Agusan del Sur and Sorsogon (2003)
- Barangay (2004)
- Agusan del Sur (2006)
- Davao del Norte (2010)
- Tangub City and Agusan Del Sur (2012)
- Agusan del Norte and North Cotabato (2013)

Casualties:

⁷ (November 19, 2009). "NPAs attack military post, kill 2 Cafgus." *Manila Times*.

⁸ (July 23, 2010). "Two militiamen killed in NPA ambush in Davao del Norte." *Manila Times*.

⁹ (October 16, 2012). "Philippines: CAFGU men repulse NPA attack in Tangub City." *Thai News Service*.

¹⁰ (December 19, 2012). "CAFGU shot dead by 10 NPA fighters in Agusan Del Sur." *Philippines News Agency*.

¹¹ (May 4, 2013). "NPA attacks CAFGU Patrol Base." *Philippines News Agency*.

¹² (October 21, 2013). "8 soldiers killed, 5 wounded in North Cotabato clash." *Business Mirror (Philippines)*.

- 5 (2003)
- 2 (2004)
- 7 (2006)
- 2 (2009)
- 2 (2010)
- 1 (2012)
- 8 (2013)

Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) (1990-2015)

Rivalry #1: Moro Islamist Liberation Front (MILF) (1990-2015)

Denouncement: (2008, 2009, 2010, 2011)

Notes: MILF→MNLF (2008); MNLF→MILF (2009, 2010, 2011)

- (2008) But the MNLF leaders were accused by the MILF of sacrificing their political goals of achieving self-determination for their community by accepting the economic perks Manila showered on them.¹³
- (2009) MNLF Chairman Nur Misuari slammed the MILF, saying the MILF leadership does not have control of its forces on the ground as he even assailed it for its indecisiveness in dealing with issues in Mindanao. He also accused the MILF for not being sincere in the peace process with the government.¹⁴
- (2010) Misuari said, the MILF as an organization is heading to nowhere and that Hadji Murad Ebrahim, Chairman of the MILF had already talked to him that the MILF forces will now join the mainstream of the MNLF because President Noynoy Aquino is not sincere in talking peace with the MILF.¹⁵
- (2011) Former MNLF chairman Nur Misuari likened the current leadership crisis in the MILF to a sinking ship with its captain no longer able to steer in its right course.¹⁶

Threat: (2000)

Notes: MILF→MNLF (2000)

- (2000) Retired Major General Guillermo Ruiz, who was Manila's ceasefire committee chairman in the MNLF talks, hoped the MILF would not make good its threat of violence during the OIC mission.¹⁷

Violence: (1996-1998, 2011-2014, 2016)

Notes: Symmetric (1996-1998, 2011-2014); MILF→MNLF (2016)

¹³ (August 28, 2008). "Philippines: Troops Clash With Separatist Rebels In South." *Inter Press Service*.

¹⁴ (September 9, 2009). "Moro leader says breakaway group "insincere" in peace talks with Philippines." BBC.

¹⁵ (November 18, 2010). "Philippines: Moro chairman says peace talks with Manila fruitless." BBC.

¹⁶ (August 21, 2011). "Philippine Moro rebels admit that renegade leader poses 'a problem'" BBC.

¹⁷ (October 11, 2000). Agence France Presse. "30 dead in southern Philippines gun battle." *Agence France Presse*.

- (1996) A clash occurred between MNLF and MILF guerillas.¹⁸
- (1997) Earlier reports said some MNLF fighters killed three MILF rebels in an ambush. In retaliation, the MILF staged an attack on an MNLF-run village the next day, killing one MNLF member.¹⁹
- (1998) The task force successfully negotiated a ceasefire between a group of MNLF and MILF forces last month, but not before 15 MILF and 5 MNLF rebels were killed in skirmishes.... Last Monday, four more MILF rebels were killed and six others were injured in a skirmishes with MNLF members in North Cotabato.²⁰
- (1998) The clashes between the MNLF and the MILF forced some 1,000 residents to flee their homes and seek refuge in nearby villages to avoid being caught in the crossfire. Four MNLF members were killed while five others were wounded in the encounter.²¹
- (1998) The MILF announced that it has settled its conflict with the former rebel MNLF after seven people were killed in a fighting...earlier, an army soldier, five MILF rebels and one civilian were killed after MILF rebels ambushed government troops who tried to intervene in fighting between the two moro groups.²²
- (2011) Thirteen people have been killed and nine others wounded in fighting over 1,000 hectares of land between a commander from the MNLF and the MILF.²³
- (2012) One person died even as nearly 300 displaced families remain in safe shelters after members of the MILF and the MNLF clashed late last week.²⁴
- (2013) Two members of the MNLF were killed when rival MILF attacked a farming village in North Cotabato.²⁵
- (2013) Police and military peacekeeping forces have been deployed in Matalam after rival Moro rebel groups fought and left one MILF killed and two others hurt.²⁶

¹⁸ (February 7, 1996). "Manila, Muslim guerillas "agree on autonomy'." *The Straits Times*.

¹⁹ (November 21, 1997). "3,000 residents flee conflict in southern philippines." *Xinhua News Agency*.

²⁰ (February 19, 1998). "MNLF-MILF body addresses tension in North Cotabato." *Business World*.

²¹ (January 28, 1998). "mnlf, milf settle conflict in southern philippines." *Xinhua News Agency*.

²² (February 14, 1998). "Two killed in rebel groups' clashes in philippines." *Xinhua News Agency*.

²³ (February 3, 2011). "Rival Muslim Rebel Groups Clash in Southern Philippines, Displace Thousands." *IHS Global Insight*.

²⁴ (May 21, 2012). "MILF, MNLF members clash; one rebel killed." *BusinessWorld*.

²⁵ (June 8, 2013). "2 die as MNLF, MILF clash anew in North Cotabato." *Philippines News Agency*.

²⁶ (February 8, 2013). "Palace: Gov't to enforce law in response to fighting in Sulu." *Philippines News Agency*.

- (2013) A local ceasefire agreement was forged but MILF and MNLF clashed. One MILF member was killed while two were wounded. Two MNLF fighters were hurt.²⁷
- (2014) The armed conflict triggered a three-week gun battle and left more than 200 individuals killed and displaced 170,000 families.²⁸
- (2015) Three MNLF members were killed when the group of MILF attacked the community where followers and families of MNLF Commander Mangadta reside.²⁹

Violence Location(s):

- Cotabato City (1996)
- Pikit Town (1997)
- North Cotabato (1998, 2013)
- Matalam (2013)

Casualties:

- 4 (1997)
- 30 (1998)
- 4 (1998)
- 7 (1998)
- 13 (2011)
- 1 (2012)
- 2 (2013)
- 1 (2013)
- 1 (2013)
- 200 (2014)
- 3 (2015)

²⁷ (February 8, 2013). "Palace: Gov't to enforce law in response to fighting in Sulu." *Philippines News Agency*.

²⁸ (June 16, 2014). "MILF, MNLF agree to set aside issues." *BusinessWorld*.

²⁹ (January 4, 2016). "Gov't extends aid to families displaced by MNLF-MILF conflict." *Philippines News Agency*.

Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) (1993-2015)

Rivalry #1: Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Unit (1987-2007)

Violence: (2000)

Notes: CAFGU→ASG (2000); ASG→CAFGU (2012)

- (2000) Pro-government militias (CAFGU) snatched and shot dead 20 suspected Abu Sayyaf rebels in three Basilan towns.³⁰
- (2012) The number of fatalities in Thursday's ambush perpetrated by Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) bandits in Sumisip, Basilan has climbed to four, with the wounded still placed at six. The three Pantantasan victims were members of the CAFGU.³¹

Violence Location(s):

- Basilan Town (2000)
- Sumisip (2012)

Casualties:

- 20 (2000)
- 4 (2012)

³⁰ (April 23, 2000). "Christian cult beheads Muslim rebel: reports." *Agence France Presse*.

³¹ (September 24, 2012). "Philippines: Death toll in Basilan ambush climbs to four." *Thai News Service*.

Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) (1993-2015)

Rivalry #2: Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) (1990-2015)

Denouncement: (1996, 2000)

Notes: ASG→MNLF (1996, 2000)

- (1996) Maylas said police suspect the attacks were launched by the ASG, which threatened to bomb and raid several coastal villages in the south.... Armed Forces chief Gen. Arturo Enrile said the series of bombings could be intended to disrupt peace negotiations between the main Muslim rebel group and the government.³²
- (2000) ASG threatened to behead some of the 21 hostages because they did not want to talk with a government negotiator..."Misuari is trying to divide and rule us. Because of this we decided to reject Misuari as the government negotiator," the spokesman said.³³

Threat: (2000)

Notes: ASG→MNLF (2000)

- (2000) ASG threatened to behead some of the 21 hostages because they did not want to talk with a government negotiator..."Misuari is trying to divide and rule us. Because of this we decided to reject Misuari as the government negotiator," the spokesman said.³⁴

Violence: (1996, 2000, 2005, 2013-2015)

Notes: Symmetric (2005, 2013-2015); ASG→MNLF (1996, 2000)

- (1996) Maylas said police suspect the attacks were launched by the ASG, which threatened to bomb and raid several coastal villages in the south.... Armed Forces chief Gen. Arturo Enrile said the series of bombings could be intended to disrupt peace negotiations between the main Muslim rebel group and the government.³⁵
- (2000) After the Abu Sayyaf rebels seized the guns from the detachment, they burned the area, including the house of a MNLF commander.³⁶

³² (March 11, 1996). "Bomb scare in southern Philippines." *United Press International*.

³³ (2000). *Xinhua News Agency*.

³⁴ (2000). *Xinhua News Agency*.

³⁵ (March 11, 1996). "Bomb scare in southern Philippines." *United Press International*.

³⁶ (May 18, 2000). "Philippines: Abu Sayyaf attack Basilan army unit, kidnap child." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

- (2005) Spokesman of the military's South Command Agustin Dema-ala said that the encounter between the government troops and combined forces of MNLF and ASG also damaged an armored personnel carrier...At least 30 soldiers and an estimated 100 rebels have died as a result of the month-long fighting in Sulu.³⁷
- (2013) At least 20 were killed after a clash between the MNLF and ASG erupted on Sunday in Sulu province.³⁸
- (2013) The government will enforce the law once civilians affected by the fighting between the MNLF and ASG have been secured.³⁹
- (2013) Eight MNLF fighters have been killed and beheaded by the ASG while 18 of the bandits were confirmed dead in fighting that erupted after MNLF guerillas tried to negotiate the release of hostages kept for months by the terrorist group in Jolo jungles.⁴⁰
- (2013) Fighting between the MNLF and the ASG calls for a ready supply of blood for shooting victims. So far, at least 28 MNLF and ASG men have died in the fighting.⁴¹
- (2013) Three soldiers were wounded when a joint MNLF-ASG attacked government forces and civilian communities in two towns in Basilan on Thursday.⁴²
- (2013) Twenty-three members of the MNLF, eight of whom were beheaded, and 31 from the ASG were killed, several others were wounded and 1,300 residents were displaced during the MNLF-ASG encounter in Patikol town.⁴³
- (2014) A ranking Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters commander was killed along with a Abu Sayyaf Group brigand during special operations conducted by the 18th Infantry Battalion, 16th Military Intelligence Company and Moro National Liberation Front in Albarka, Basilan.⁴⁴

³⁷ (March 11, 2005). "5 soldiers killed by rebel group in southern Philippines." *Xinhua General News Service*.

³⁸ (February 4, 2013). "20 killed in ASG-MNLF clash in Sulu province." *Philippines News Agency*.

³⁹ (February 11, 2013). "Philippines: Gov't to enforce law in response to fighting in Sulu." *Thai News Service*.

⁴⁰ (2013) *PDI*.

⁴¹ (February 4, 2013). "20 killed in ASG-MNLF clash in Sulu province." *Philippines News Agency*.

⁴² (2013). *Business Mirror*.

⁴³ (February 6, 2013). "54 killed in clashes over kidnapped journalist." *Gulf News*.

⁴⁴ (June 22, 2014). BIFF, ASG leader killed in Basilan encounter." *Philippines News Agency*.

- (2015) In their first known major clash, Abu Sayyaf gunmen battled rebels from the larger Moro National Liberation Front in fighting early this week, leaving at least 22 combatants dead in the mountainous jungles on southern Jolo Island.⁴⁵

Violence Location(s):

- Zamboanga (1996)
- Matikang Village (2000)
- Sulu Province (2005)
- Sulu Province (2013)
- Jolo Jungles (2013)
- Patikol Town (2013)
- Basilan (2014)
- Jolo Island (2015)

Casualties:

- 130 (2005)
- 20 (2013)
- 26 (2013)
- 28 (2013)
- 54 (2013)
- 2 (2014)
- 22 (2015)

⁴⁵ (2015). *Canadian Press*.

Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Movement (BIFM) (2012-2015)

Rivalry #1: Moro Islamist Liberation Front (MILF) (1990-2015)

Denouncement: (2012)

Notes: MILF→BIFM (2012)

- (2012) The GPHL and MILF panels also condemned the senseless attacks of the so-called Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters.⁴⁶
- (2012) Mohagher Iqbal, chief negotiator of the MILF, said the BIFM was trying to sabotage the ongoing peace talk.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ (August 14, 2012). "Philippines: Leonen: Next round of GPHL- MILF talks in 2 weeks." *Thai News Service*.

⁴⁷ (August 15, 2012). "Umbra Kato undermines peace talks." *Manila Standard Today*.

New People's Army (1990-2015)

Rivalry #1: Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Unit (1987-2007)

Violence: (2002-2005, 2012, 2015)

- (2002) One soldier and one member of the CAFGU were killed by the elements of the NPA in Lapuyan, Zamboanga del Sur.⁴⁸
- (2003) Around 30 NPA insurgents swooped on the army detachment early Saturday near the town of Bayugan, triggering fighting. The regional army command said a soldier and a member of the CAFGU were killed in the attacks.⁴⁹
- (2004) The rebel group (NPA) killed three policemen in an ambush in Agusan del Sur last Monday and a member of the CAFGU two weeks ago in Iloilo City.⁵⁰
- (2005) A CAFGU personnel was killed last Wednesday when 10 suspected New People's Army rebels tried to destroy the project.⁵¹
- (2012) The NPA committed two atrocities simultaneously in Compostella Valley and Negros Occidental. The rebel group harassed the KM 5 patrol base in Compostella Valley which fortunately resulted in no casualties. Another harassment was conducted at a CAFGU detachment in Sitio Pulpangyan which resulted in the death of one civilian.⁵²
- (2015) The Army's 27th Infantry Battalion has condemned the latest terrorist attacks carried by communist New Peoples Army in T'boli, South Cotabato that left a militiaman killed and wounded another. Elements of the 27th IB backed CAFGU tried to remove the streamer when a grenade attached to it exploded.⁵³

⁴⁸ (January 4, 2002). "Philippines: Two dead in army-communist clash as peace accord nears - spokesman." *BBC Monitoring International Reports*.

⁴⁹ (October 19, 2003). "Two dead in Philippines rebel attack." *Agence France Presse*.

⁵⁰ (March 4, 2004). "Govt, Reds eye weeklong truce." *Manila Standard*.

⁵¹ (December 10, 2005). "NPA attacks expressway construction site in Tarlac." *Manila Standard*.

⁵² (July 6, 2010). "Philippines: Soldiers uphold rights of children." *Thai News Service*.

⁵³ (March 29, 2015). "Army condemns NPA grenade attack that left 1 militia dead in South Cotabato." *Philippines News Agency*.

Alsa Masa/225 anti-communist vigilante groups (1986-1990)

Rivalry #1: New People's Army (1990-2015)

Denouncement: (1987)

Notes: NPA→Alsa Masa (1987)

- (1987) A member of the general staff of the NPA said that Alsa Masa and Nakasaka pose a big problem for the rebels. He says the NPA is planning a counteroffensive, although he would not say what it is. He said such vigilante groups will fail because their "ideology is groundless, and they are linked to the military."⁵⁴

Violence: (1986, 1988)

Notes: Symmetric (1988); Alsa Masa→NPA (1986)

- (1986) The strongest anti-NPA group is Alsa Masa, or "revolt of the masses." The groups provided the military with information that has resulted in the killing of many NPA rebels.⁵⁵
- (1988) Boy Ponsa claims that during four months of fighting about 100 NPA rebels were killed and more than 15,000 surrendered, while the Alsa Masa lost 30 men.⁵⁶

Violence Location(s):

- Davao (1986, 1988)

Casualties:

- 130 (1988)

⁵⁴ (July 28, 1986). "Philippine communists wear out their welcome." *Christian Science Monitor*.

⁵⁵ (July 28, 1986). "Philippine communists wear out their welcome." *Christian Science Monitor*.

⁵⁶ (January 18, 1988). "Baker M. Bullets And Ballots On The Vigilante Trail." *Herald*.

Republic of the Congo

All Groups and Years:

Cobras (1997-1999)

Ninjas (1993-1999)

Cocoyes (1997-1999)

Ntsiloulous (1998-2002)

Mayi Mayi (2001-2014)

Zulus (1994-1997)

Aubevillois (1994-1997)

Cobras

Rivalry #1: Ninjas

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #2: Cocoyes

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #3: Zulus

Denouncement

Violence

Ninjas

Rivalry #1: Aubevillois

Violence

Cobras (1997-1999)

Rivalry #1: Ninjas (1993-1999)

Denouncement: (1997-1998)

Notes: Cobras→Ninjas (1997-1998)

- (1997) Cobra members declared the Ninjas were “gone” after entering Brazzaville.¹
- (1998) Cobras denied human rights abuses and blamed them on Ninjas and Cocoyes.²

Violence: (1997-1999)

Notes: Symmetric (1997-1999)

- (1997) Ninjas fled the capital in October after losing battle to Cobras.³
- (1998) Cobras launched an operation in December to “flush out” Ninjas.⁴
- (1998) Ninjas resisted disarmament and waged a campaign against Cobras.⁵
- (1999) Cobra leader Camille Oko was killed in a battle with Ninjas.⁶
- (1999) Cobras presided over a “reign of terror” in response to Ninja violence.⁷

Violence Locations:

- Oyo (1997)
- Brazzaville (1997-1999)
- Southwest region (1998-1999)
- Pool (1999)

Casualties:

- 415 (1998)

¹ (October 18, 1997). “Militiamen Exultant in Congo Republic; Fighters Loot Capital After Apparent Overthrow.” *Washington Post*.

² (March 25, 1999). “Congo Brazzaville; A Human Rights Crisis Rooted in Power Struggles.” *Africa News*.

³ (December 7, 1998). “Congo Unrest.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁴ (December 31, 1998). “Hundreds Killed in Congo Fighting, President Says.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁵ (December 17, 1998). “Government, Militia Clash Near the Republic of Congo Capital.” *Associated Press*.

⁶ (January 27, 1999). “Heavy Fighting on the Edge of Brazzaville.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁷ (ARB 36(6) 1999).

Cobras (1997-1999)

Rivalry #2: Cocoyes (1997-1999)

Denouncement: (1998)

Notes: Cobras→Cocoyes (1998)

- (1998) Cobras denied human rights abuses and blamed them on Ninjas and Cocoyes.⁸

Violence: (1997-1998)

Notes: Cobras→Cocoyes (1997); Cocoyes→Cobras (1998)

- (1997) Lissouba loyalists attacked in Oyo by Cobras.⁹
- (1998) Dolisie attacked by Cocoyes and Zulus.¹⁰

Violence Locations:

- Oyo (1997)
- Dolisie (1998)

⁸ (March 25, 1999). "Congo Brazzaville; A Human Rights Crisis Rooted in Power Struggles." *Africa News*.

⁹ (October 16, 1997). "Rebels in Congo Republic Capture Capital, Key Port; Angolan Backing Aids Apparent Takeover." *Washington Post*.

¹⁰ (ARB 35(4) 1998).

Cobras (1997-1999)

Rivalry #3: Zulus (1994-1997)

Denouncement: (1997)

Notes: Symmetric (1997)

- (1997) Cobras alleged that the government was arming and transporting Zulus.¹¹
- (1997) Zulus deployed by Lissouba to combat “urban rebellion” by Cobras.¹²

Violence: (1997)

Notes: Symmetric (1997)

- (1997) Zulus deployed by Lissouba to combat “urban rebellion” by Cobras.¹³
- (1997) Fighting erupted in Brazzaville, killing thousands.¹⁴

Violence Locations:

- Brazzaville (1997)

Casualties:

- 4000 (1997)

¹¹ (July 18, 1997). “Congo’s Biggest Peace Threat: The Militia Militia.” *Agence France Presse*.

¹² (July 18, 1997). “Congo’s Biggest Peace Threat: The Militia Militia.” *Agence France Presse*.

¹³ (July 18, 1997). “Congo’s Biggest Peace Threat: The Militia Militia.” *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁴ (July 16, 1997). “Congo-Media: Reporting with a Mike in One Hand, a Gun in the Other.” *Inter Press Service*.

Ninjas (1993-1999)

Rivalry #1: Aubevillois (1994-1997)

Violence: (1994)

Notes: Symmetric (1994)

- Fighting in Brazzaville between Ninjas and Aubevillois.¹⁵

Violence Locations:

- Brazzaville (1994)

¹⁵ (January 30, 1994). "Political Dispute Sparks Ethnic Fight." *Washington Post*.

Rwanda

All Groups and Years:

FPR, RPF, Front Patriotique Rwandais, Rwandan Patriotic Front (1990-1995)

FDLR (2001-2014)

ALiR (1996-2000)

Local Defence Force (1999-2007)

Interahamwe Militia (1991-1994)

Front Patriotique Rwandais (FPR) aka Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)

Rivalry #1: Interahamwe Militia

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Front Patriotique Rwandais (FPR) aka Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) (1990-1995)

General Group Notes: Tutsi

Rivalry #1: Interahamwe Militia

Denouncement: (1994)

Notes: Interahamwe→RPF (1994)

- (1994) The Interahamwe said the RPF will tear out your eyes and cut your throat. They say they will kill you if you can read or write.¹
- (1994) The Interahamwe claimed to find those they called 'inyenzi' or cockroaches - the RPF and its supporters - at every turn.²

Threat: (1994)

Notes: RPF→Interahamwe (1994)

- (1994) The RPF is threatening to attack the French positions if the French do not turn over members of the government, whose military and brutal Interahamwe militia are believed to be responsible for all manner of atrocities.³

Violence: (1994)

Notes: Symmetric (1994) 3

- (1994) Two youths, said to be Interahamwe, were killed Tuesday afternoon by RPF soldiers.⁴
- (1994) The RPF says it kills only known members of the Interahamwe and others who have taken part in massacres of Tutsis and Hutus opposed to the government.⁵

Violence Location:

- Kigali (1994)

¹ (July 26, 1994). "Decimated Families Trudge Back to Rwanda." *San Jose Mercury News*.

² (December 3, 1994). "Inside Story: Blood on Their Hands." *The Guardian*.

³ (July 18, 1994). "Rwandan killing moves to Zaire Mortar attacks leave 60 dead." *The Globe and Mail*.

⁴ (July 6, 1994). "Kigali Inhabitants Confined but Free." *Agence France-Presse*.

⁵ (July 3, 1994). "Hutu Warlord Defends Child Killings." *The Observer*.

Sierra Leone

All Groups and Years:

Revolutionary United Front (RUF) (1991-2002)

Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) (1997-1999)

West Side Boys (WSB)/Occra Hill Boys (1999-2000)

Executive Outcomes (1995-1996)

The 'Bokkie' Crew (1999-2000)

Civil Defense Forces/Kamajor/Donso/Gbethis/Kapras (1991-2002)

NPFL (1991-1991)

Revolutionary United Front

Rivalry #1: Civil Defense Forces

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #2: West Side Boys

Violence

Rivalry #3: Executive Outcomes

Denouncement

Violence

Armed Forces Revolutionary Council

Rivalry #1: Civil Defense Forces

Threat

Violence

West Side Boys

Rivalry #1: Civil Defense Forces

Threat

Violence

Revolutionary United Front (RUF) (1991-2002)

Rivalry #1: Civil Defense Forces (1991-2001)

Threat: (1997)

Notes: Civil Defense Forces→RUF (1997)

- (1997) A general stated that, “if the AFRC fails to abide by the agreement, then the Kamajors will have no option than to launch full-scale attacks against the junta.”¹

Violence: (1996-2001)

Notes: Civil Defense Forces→RUF (1996); RUF→Civil Defense Forces (1997); Symmetric (1998-2001)

- (1996) The government was accused of using Kamajor forces to attack RUF locations all over the country in violation of the existing ceasefire.²
- (1996) The clashes in Bo left one soldier, 15 Kamajor and two civilians dead.³
- (1996) Sixteen rebels in central Sierra Leone committed suicide by poisoning themselves with crocodile bile. The mass suicide took place in Walama, where in past weeks more than 300 rebels of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) have been captured by soldiers and a militia group made up of traditional hunters known as Kamajor.⁴
- (1996) An RUF statement says that they were attacked by land and air at a base in the central Moyamba District. A helicopter was brought down by an RUF anti-aircraft weapon and the pilot and 30 others were killed. The helicopter was set ablaze as a local militia force known as the Kamajor fought alongside Sierra Leonean troops against the rebels.⁵
- (1997) Earlier this week, a surprised attack on Mile 91 by RUF rebels seeking food was beaten back by the Kapras, leaving 14 rebels dead, according to reports.⁶

¹ (December 12, 1997). “Freetown Junta Claims Nigerian Jet Bombs Village, killing 25.” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

² (November 18, 1996). “Sierra Leone president issues ultimatum to rebels.” *Agence France Presse*.

³ (October 31, 1996). *Agence France Presse*.

⁴ (November 11, 1996). “16 Rebels Die in Sierra Leone Crocodile Bile Suicide.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁵ (November 13, 1996). “Sierra Leone Rebels Accuse Government of Violating Ceasefire.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁶ (May 9, 1997). “Sierra Leone Politics: a new militia emerges in the north.” *Inter Press Service*.

- (1997) The junta and their RUF rebel allies launched massive unprovoked attacks on the Kamajor hunter militia, in eastern and southeastern Sierra Leone.⁷
- (1998) Clashes between Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels and Nigerian-led ECOMOG troops reportedly took place Saturday in Masiaka. Witnesses said ECOMOG troops backed by militiamen from the Kamajor society of hunters engaged in a four-hour battle near Port Loko.⁸
- (1999) Dozens of rebels were killed as well as nine civilians when fighting broke out in the Yele region after rebels seeking food attacked a ferry boat. The rebels of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) were repelled by civil defense forces, comprising Kamajor hunters who back President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah.⁹
- (2000) Patrick Coker, a U.N. spokesman, said the Revolutionary United Front rebels had fought two battles last week against the Kamajors. He said much of that fighting appeared to come when RUF and Kamajor patrols stumbled into one another.¹⁰
- (2001) Gibril Massaquoi, spokesman for the rebel Revolutionary United Front (RUF), was quoted as saying that at least two RUF fighters and seven pro-government Kamajor militiamen have been killed since the latest clashes began on Sunday in the districts of Kono and Kailahun.¹¹
- (2001) Five people were killed and 40 wounded in fighting between RUF rebels and pro-government Kamajor militiamen in the Kono district.¹²
- (2001) UNAMSIL's acting military commander Martin Luther Agwei was quoted as saying that Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels and Civil Defense Forces (CDF) militiamen clashed on Wednesday and Thursday in the eastern town of Koidu.¹³

Violence Locations:

- Bo (1996)

⁷ (December 12, 1997). "Freetown Junta Claims Nigerian Jet Bombs Village, killing 25." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁸ (December 7, 1998). "Dozens Killed, Abducted in Sierra Leone Clashes." *Agence France Presse*.

⁹ (April 26, 1999). "Nine Civilians, Dozens of Rebels Killed in Central Sierra Leone." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁰ (October 31, 2000). "World in Brief." *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*.

¹¹ (May 9, 2001). "Renewed Fighting in S. Leone claims nine lives." *Xinhua General News Service*.

¹² (December 23, 2001). "Five Killed in Fighting over diamond mines in Sierra Leone." *Agence France Presse*.

¹³ (December 21, 2001). *Xinhua General News Service*.

- Walama (1996)
- Central Moyamaba district (1996)
- Mile 91 (1997)
- Eastern/SE Sierra Leone (1997)
- Port Loko & Kambia (1998)
- Yele Region (1999)
- Kono & Kailahun (2001)
- Koidu (2001)

Casualties:

- 18 (1996)
- 16 (1996)
- 31 (1996)
- 14 (1997)
- 9 (1999)
- “Dozens” (1999)
- 9 (2001)
- 5 (2001)

Revolutionary United Front (RUF) (1991-2002)

Rivalry #2: West Side Boys (1999-2000)

Violence: (2000)

Notes: Symmetric (2000)

- (2000) The West Side Boys have fallen out with the RUF and have fought with them for control of diamond-mining towns. ¹⁴
- (2000) The West Side Boys are a gang that has fought both the Sierra Leonean government and the country's brutal rebel Revolutionary United Front. ¹⁵

¹⁴ (August 28, 2000). "West Side Boys are Jungle Brigands." *The Times (London)*.

¹⁵ (September 8, 2000). "UN Reports New Fighting, British Fear Hostages in Danger." *AP International*.

Revolutionary United Front (RUF) (1991-2002)

Rivalry #3: Executive Outcomes (1995-1996)

Denouncement: (1996)

Notes: RUF→Executive Outcomes (1996)

- (1996) The RUF said it is "now abundantly clear" that Kabbah is determined to "eliminate the RUF leadership using the Executive Outcomes."¹⁶

Violence: (1995-1996)

Notes: Executive Outcomes→RUF (1995, 1997); Symmetric (1996)

- (1995) The RSLMF, supported by the Nigerian and Guinean armies and a private South African mercenary firm Executive Outcomes continued active operations against rebel forces, known as the Revolutionary United Front.¹⁷
- (1995) Sierra Leone's defunct military junta engaged 300 Guinean troops as well as Executive Outcomes to repel an RUF assault on Freetown. The firing was thought, but not confirmed, to have been an assault by the RUF.¹⁸
- (1995) A vehicle ferrying some 50 rebels to ambush government troops on a key road to the town of Matru was bombarded from the air during the operation. It gave no figure for casualties on either side. Diplomats here Tuesday put recent government successes down to the training input from the South African security firm Executive Outcomes.¹⁹
- (1996) The RUF said in a statement that Executive Outcomes had, together with government troops, attacked RUF positions at the end of January. On Tuesday a Freetown weekly newspaper claimed rebels had captured three members of Executive Outcomes guarding a rutile mine in the south. At least 16 people have been killed in attacks blamed on rebels in east and north Sierra Leone over the last four days.²⁰

¹⁶ (October 15, 1996). *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁷ (March 1995). "Sierra Leone Human Rights Practices, 1995." *Department of State Dispatch*.

¹⁸ (November 12, 1995). "Troops, Mercenaries Mobilize after reported rival attack near Freetown." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁹ (July 18, 1995). *Agence France Presse*.

²⁰ (February 6, 1996). "At Least 16 Killed in Sierra Leone Clashes." *Agence France Presse*.

- (1996) Sources in Sierra Leone say two employees of Executive Outcomes have been killed, and at least five others injured, in an ambush. The attack by rebels of the RUF took place last week on a road between the capital, Freetown, and the northeastern town of Makeni.²¹
- (1996) The attack which [words indistinct] near the diamond mining concession at Tongo Field caused the death of 38 people, including seven soldiers. Eleven people were seriously injured and evacuated to Bo on board a helicopter belonging to South African mercenaries of Executive Outcomes.²²

Violence Locations:

- Freetown (1995)
- Matru (1995)
- Wanjuma village (1996)
- Makeni (1996)
- Tongo Field (1996)

Casualties:

- 2 (1996)
- 16 (1996)
- 38 (1996)

²¹ (February 13, 1996). "Sierra Leone: Two South African Security Advisers Said Killed in Ambush." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²² (September 2, 1996). *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (1997-1999)

Rivalry #1: Civil Defense Forces (1991-2001)

Threat: (1997)

Notes: Civil Defense Forces→AFRC (1997)

- (1997) The Kamajors have given civilians up to November 28 to leave the town after which they will launch an attack to flush out the AFRC.²³

Violence: (1997-1998)

Notes: Symmetric (1997-1998)

- (1997) By midweek there were reports thousands of Kamajors were preparing to march on Freetown against Koroma's AFRC.²⁴
- (1997) Fighting was reported to be going on in kenema, eastern Sierra Leone, between soldiers loyal to AFRC and the kamajors. The report quoted a Kamajor spokesman as saying the kamajors, which had not retreated as the military demanded, were advancing toward freetown after successfully pushing back the military government troops.²⁵
- (1997) The Kamajor militias are reported to be engaged in heavy fighting with AFRC at the diamond mining town of Tongo. There is also fighting between the two sides in other areas.²⁶
- (1998) Sierra Leone's AFRC confirmed that there had been fighting in the country's second largest city with Kamajor militiamen loyal to ousted Ahmad Tejan Kabbah. The BBC quoted an AFRC spokesman as saying they lost two men with 10 casualties on the Kamajor side.²⁷

²³ (November 20, 1997). "Militia Blame Sierra Leone Junta for Ceasefire Violations." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

²⁴ (June 6, 1997). "Sierra Leone: The Forces of Freetown." *Africa News*.

²⁵ (June 21, 1997). "S. Leonean Coup Makers Call for ECOWAS Meeting." *Xinhua News Agency*.

²⁶ (November 20, 1997). "Militia Blame Sierra Leone Junta..."

²⁷ (January 5, 1998). "Freetown Junta Confirms Fighting in Bo." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

- (1998) BBC reported that ECOMOG did not encounter any resistance but there was fighting in the western half of the town between the Kamajors and forces loyal to the AFRC.²⁸
- (1998) The AFRC and RUF continue to clash with ECOMOG troops and civil defense units.²⁹

Violence Location:

- Freetown (1997)
- Kenema (1997)
- Tongo (1997)
- Bo (1998)

Casualties:

- 12 (1998)

²⁸ (February 22, 1998). "ECOMOG Force Arrives in Bo, Kamajors Take on Junta Forces." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

²⁹ (March 10, 1998). "United States and Africa; USAID Situation Report on US Assistance to Sierra Leone." *Africa News*.

West Side Boys (1999-2000)

General Group Notes: Highly publicized British troop kidnapping story is most of the coverage.

Rivalry #1: Civil Defense Forces (1991-2001)

Threat: (2000)

Notes: Civil Defense Forces—West Side Boys (2000)

- (2000) Hundreds of Gbethis in the Port Loko District, under the auspices of the Civil Defence Force completed a month and a half intensive guerrilla warfare training and initiation ceremony. Their objective is to deal ruthlessly with the West Side Boys. A Gbethi commander Issa Kanu said the refresher training programme was to prepare themselves for any attempt by the West Side Boys to, as he said, “interfere into our affairs.”³⁰
- (2000) Milton said the SLA and a local hunter militia known as the Gbethis would “conduct aggressive patrols in the area,” to capture remaining West Side Boys.³¹

Violence: (2000)

Notes: Symmetric (2000)

- (2000) One of the groups, the West Side Boys formerly allied to the rebels, began shooting at members of the ragtag Civil Defense Force traditional hunter militia, also known as the Kamajors.³²
- (2000) Members of the Civil Defence Forces, comprising mostly Gbethis operating in the north of the country have overrun positions held by the West Side Boys during a two-day battle... The West Side Boys, who have been holding six British soldiers and a Sierra Leonean officer since August 25, attacked CDF positions at Kuntakuma. CDF forces counter-attacked, according to the communique and now hold all of the road between Masiaka and Mile 91, occupying positions previously held by the West Side Boys.³³

³⁰ (September 3, 2000). “Sierra Leone: Gbethi Militiamen prepare to fight West Side Boys.” *BBC*.

³¹ (September 12, 2000). *Agence France Presse*.

³² (June 19, 2000). “UN Warns Sierra Leone government after shootings.” *Associated Press International*.

³³ (September 8, 2000). “Sierra Leone Kidnap Militia beaten back by pro-government forces.” *Agence France Presse*.

- (2000) The fighting between the West Side Boys and the Gbethis militia, which erupted on Wednesday at Magbini, coincided with efforts by relatives of the West Side Boys to secure the release of the Britons and a Sierra Leonean soldier held with them.³⁴

Violence Locations:

- Freetown (2000)
- Freetown (2000)
- Magbini (2000)

³⁴ (September 8, 2000). *PAP News Wire*.

Somalia

All Groups and Years:

Al Shabaab (2007-2015)

Al-Qaida (2006)

Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) (2015)

SNM (1990-1991)

SPM (1990-1991)

USC/SSA (1990-1991)

USC/SNA (1990-1996)

SRRC (2001-2002)

Islamic Courts Union/ARS/UIC (2005-2008)

Hizbul Islam/Hizbul al Islam (2009-2010)

Mujahideen Youth Movement (MYM) (2007-2009)

Al Shabaab

Rivalry #1: Hizbul Islam/Hizbul al Islam

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

USC/SSA

Rivalry #1: SPM

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #2: SNM

Denouncement

Threat

Rivalry #3: USC/SNA

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Al Shabaab (2007-2015)

Rivalry #1: Hizbul Islam/Hizbul al Islam (2009-2010)

Denouncement: (2010)

Notes: Symmetric (2009-2010)

- (2009) Hizbul al Islam denounced assassination of Security Minister killed in suicide attack that killed 25 people.¹
- (2010) Al Shabaab and Hizbul al-Islam frequently compete with one another.²
- (2010) Sheikh Hasan Abudullahi al-Turki defected to al Shabaab.³

Threat: (2009)

Notes: Symmetric (2009)

- (2009) Al Shabaab and Hizbul al-Islam argued over the fate of French hostages, and threatened violence against one another.⁴
- (2009) Hizbul al-Islam threatened to attack al Shabaab “everywhere” if al Shabaab began a fight in Kismayu.⁵

Violence: (2009-2010)

Notes: Symmetric (2009-2010)

- (2009) Hizbul al Islam was defeated in battle at Kismayu by al Shabaab, ending their alliance.⁶
- (2010) Clashes over Kismayu included targeted assassinations of both groups.⁷
- (2010) The violence continued into 2010.⁸

Violence Locations:

- Kismayu (2009)

¹ (June 19, 2009). “Somalia; Aweys Condemns Security Minister’s Assassination.” *Africa News*.

² (June 3, 2010). “al-Shabaab a Threat to the United States?” *Defence Web*.

³ (2010). “Vol 47 issue 1.” *ARB*.

⁴ (July 15, 2009). “Somalia Moves to Free French Agents.” *Gulf News*.

⁵ (October 1, 2009). “Rival Somali Islamists Clash at Kismayu Port.” *Defence Web*.

⁶ (April 19, 2010). “Harsh War, Harsh Peace, Abuses by al-Shabaab, the Transitional Federal Government, and AMISOM in Somalia.” *UN HRW*.

⁷ (January 8, 2010). “Distr.: General 8 January 2010.” *UN Security Council*.

⁸ (April 19, 2010). “Harsh War, Harsh Peace, Abuses by al-Shabaab, the Transitional Federal Government, and AMISOM in Somalia.” *UN HRW*.

- Dhobley (2009, 2010)
- Burhakaba (2009, 2010)
- Lower Jubba (2009, 2010)

Casualties:

- 25 (2009)

USC/SSA (1990-1991)

Rivalry #1: SPM (1990-1991)

Denouncement: (1991)

Notes: SPM→USC (1991)

- (1991) SPM publicly denounced Ali Mahdi. SPM denounced USC for turning “the entire political struggle into a clan struggle.”⁹

Threat: (1991)

Notes: SPM→USC (1991)

- (1991) SPM said violence would continue unless Ali Mahdi stepped down.¹⁰
- (1991) SPM threatened to attack the port of Kismayu.¹¹

Violence: (1991)

Notes: Symmetric (1991)

- (1991) Several dozen people were killed in a 4 hour battle between the groups.¹²
- (1991) After ousting Barre, the groups fought for control of Mogadishu.¹³
- (1991) Fighting erupted after a disagreement between President Mohammed and General Aideed over making a conciliatory gesture to the SPM.¹⁴
- (1991) USC wrested control of Kismayu.¹⁵
- (1991) SPM captured Shalaamboot from USC and fought at El Bur.¹⁶
- USC attacked SPM at Barava.¹⁷

Violence Locations:

⁹ (1991) *Xinhua General News Service*.

¹⁰ (1991) *Xinhua General News Service*.

¹¹ (May 13, 1991). “Somalia: Talk of Peace, Acts of War Among Rebel Groups.” *IPS*.

¹² (February 11, 1991). “Dozens Die as Somali Factions Fight for Town.” *Herald Sun*.

¹³ (February 10, 1991). “News Analysis: War Unlikely to End Soon in Somalia.” *Xinhua General News Service*.

¹⁴ (September 9, 1991). “Fighting Rages for Control of Somali Capital as Former Allies Fall out Over Planned Gifts to Rivals.” *Guardian*.

¹⁵ (May 13, 1991). “Somalia: Talk of Peace, Acts of War Among Rebel Groups.” *IPS*.

¹⁶ March 23, 1991). “Fighting for somalian capital rages.” *Xinhua General News Service*.

¹⁷ (March 21, 1991). “HORN OF AFRICA IN BRIEF; Somali Minister appeals for aid; shooting in Mogadishu reported.” *BBC*.

- Afgoye (1991)
- Kismayu (1991)
- Mogadishu (1991)
- Shalaamboot (1991)
- Barava (1991)

Casualties:

- “several dozen” (1991)
- 110+ (1991)

USC/SSA (1990-1991)

Rivalry #2: SNM (1990-1991)

Denouncement: (1991)

Notes: Symmetric (1991)

- (1991) USC condemned SNM's declaration of an autonomous region.¹⁸
- (1991) SNM condemned Ali Mahdi.¹⁹

Threat: (1991)

Notes: SNM→USC (1991)

- (1991) An SNM representative said they will fight against USC "if necessary."²⁰

¹⁸ (June 7, 1991). "Kenya: EC Pledges Five Million Dollars for Refugees." *IPS*.

¹⁹ (February 11, 1991). "Somalia: Rebuilding Snagged by Divisions." *Africa News*.

²⁰ (February 11, 1991). "Somalia: Rebuilding Snagged by Divisions." *Africa News*.

USC/SSA (1990-1991)

Rivalry #3: USC/SNA (1990-1996)

Denouncement: (1991)

Notes: USC/SNA→USC/SSA(1991)

- (1991) General Aideed denounced plan to send food aid to SPM.²¹

Threat: (1991)

Notes: USC/SNA→USC/SSA(1991)

- USC/SNA threatened to shoot down Mahdi plane bringing in currency.²²

Violence: 1991

Notes: Symmetric (1991)

- Fighting erupted after a disagreement between President Mohammed and General Aideed over making a conciliatory gesture to the SPM.²³

Violence Locations:

- Mogadishu (1991)

²¹ (September 9, 1991). "Fighting Rages for Control of Somali Capital as Former Allies Fall Out Over Planned Gifts to Rivals." *The Guardian*.

²² (December 16, 1991). "Aomali Civil War Takes Stiff Toll on Civilians." *Christian Science Monitor*.

²³ (September 9, 1991). "Fighting Rages for Control of Somali Capital as Former Allies Fall Out Over Planned Gifts to Rivals." *The Guardian*.

South Africa

All Groups and Years:

African National Congress (1990-1996)

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) (1991-1996)

Kabasa (1990)

Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe (1990-1993)

Black Cats (1990-1992)

African National Congress - ANC

Rivalry #1: Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) / Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #2: Black Cats

Violence

African National Congress - ANC (1990-1996)

Rivalry #1: Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) / Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe

Denouncement: (1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995)

Notes: Symmetric (1991, 1992, 1993, 1995); IFP→ANC (1994)

- (1991) Nelson Mandela failed to convince President Frederick Willem de Klerk to ban the public carrying of spears and clubs by supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party, because the government regards the carrying of such weapons as part of their culture, while the ANC considers them as deadly weapons widely used in the township violence.¹
- (1991) Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's verbal attack signaled the collapse of a two-month-old peace accord between Mandela's ANC and Buthelezi's Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party.²
- (1991) The ANC blamed police and the rival Inkatha Freedom Party for the deaths of 17 people in clashes after an Inkatha rally. Inkatha denied responsibility. The violence threatened to aggravate tension among Inkatha, the ANC, and the government as they prepared to negotiate on South Africa's political future.³
- (1991) After armed men rampaged through two train stations in Soweto, killing 9 people and injuring 36 people, the ANC and the IFP accused each other of being behind the killings.⁴
- (1992) An Inkatha leader said the ANC had declared war against his group and sent its fighters to commit mass killings. The charges followed a series of attacks and ambushes in Natal that had killed dozens of people and raised tension dramatically in the easter province.⁵
- (1992) The ANC accused rival the rival IFP of orchestrating the ambush killing of the ANC National Executive Committee member Reggie Hadebe in Natal province.⁶

¹ (1991). "Inkatha threatens to field 100,000 men in soweto." *Xinhua General News*.

² (1991). "ANC, Inkatha appeal for police assistance." *St. Petersburg Times*.

³ (1991). "Yugoslavia more fighting reported in Croatia." *St. Louis Post*.

⁴ (1991). "9 hacked to death, 36 hurt in Soweto two black rival groups blame each other." *St. Louis Dispatch*.

⁵ (1992). "Talk of war as violence sweeps natal." *Press Association*.

⁶ (1992). "Report: South African summit this weekend." *USA Today*.

- (1993) The ANC accused the IFP of receiving support from the government and the military establishment to spread the violence in the townships.⁷
- (1993) IFP leader Buthelezi said, “When you look across the broad sweep of ANC attack on Inkatha, they amount to the ANC denying the legitimacy of my leadership and the authority of the IFP as a political force which contributed to the liberation of South Africa.”⁸
- (1993) He said the attack was “clearly an attempt to destabilise the peace” that had reigned between the ANC and its arch-adversary, the IFP.⁹
- (1994) Mr. Jiyane claimed that the ANC was preparing for a “major military offensive” against the IFP by using Umkhonto We Sizwe, former ANC military force, cadres not enlisted in the National Army to train communities for combat with the IFP.¹⁰
- (1994) An IFP spokesman claimed that ANC supporters were preparing to attack IFP members after a march and that thousands of heavily armed ANC supporters were being bussed into Durban from throughout Kwazulu/Natal and Transkei.¹¹
- (1995) The IFP attempted to justify killings by saying that the pro-IFP Impendle community had lost faith in the police since a local leader was allegedly abducted and killed by men in a police vehicle.¹²
- (1995) Inkatha blamed the ANC for an attack that claimed the lives of 10 supporters of Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s Inkatha Freedom Party.¹³

Threat: (1991, 1993, 1994)

Notes: IFP→ANC (1991, 1993, 1994)

- (1991) IFP threatened to deploy 100,000 fighters in the Soweto township to fight ANC supporters if political violence continued in the township.¹⁴

⁷ (1993). “South africa: Calls for peace contrast with attacks and threats.” *Interpress Service*.

⁸ (1993). ““Jordan’s King Hussein voices disaffection with Saddam.” *USA Today*.

⁹ (1993). “10 youths shot in massacre.” *Herald Sun*.

¹⁰ (1994). “Inkatha claims major offensive by ANC.” *Xinhua News Agency*.

¹¹ (1994). “S. africa’s ifp warns supporters of conflict with anc.” *Xinhua News Agency*.

¹² (1995). “12 people shot dead at church service in KwaZulu-Nata.” *Agence France Presse*.

¹³ (1995). “Gunmen kill at least 8 in S. Africa.” *United Press International*.

¹⁴ (1991). “Inkatha threatens to field 100,000 men in soweto.” *Xinhua General News*.

- (1993) IFP warned of a showdown with ANC after attacks on IFP members allegedly by ANC supporters.¹⁵
- (1994) IFP Youth Brigade warned that if the police or ANC attempted to stop planned marches to protest against elections and the killing of Zulu marachers in the city, “there would become another Bosnia.”¹⁶

Violence: (1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995)

Notes: Symmetric (1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995)

- (1990) An ANC gang started a gunfight that killed two female students who were part of the Inkatha group.¹⁷
- (1990) 124 people were killed from fighting between supporters of ANC and Zulus tied to IFP in Tokoza.¹⁸
- (1990) IFP fought in a bloody battle for township supremacy with ANC supporters. In six weeks, 760 people died from the fighting.¹⁹
- (1990) More than 4000 people were killed during the feud between ANC and Zulus supporting the IFP.²⁰
- (1990) Zulus and Xhosas fought in Tokoza, shooting 37 people to death and burning scores of homes.²¹
- (1991) At least 40 people were injured in weekend violence, including 28 who suffered gunshot wounds. Residents said the fighting was between backers of the ANC and the IFP.²²
- (1991) The ANC blamed police and the IFP for the deaths of 17 people in clashes after an Inkatha rally. Inkatha denied responsibility.²³
- (1991) 6 people were shot and stabbed to death in attacks on commuter trains.²⁴

¹⁵ (1993). “Political violence continues in s. Africa’s natal provice.” *Xinhua General News*.

¹⁶ (1994). “S. Africa’s inkatha to defy ban on marches.” *Xinhua General News*.

¹⁷ (1990). “Civil War imperils African future 4,000 dead, thousands flee to refugee camps.” *St Louis Post-Dispatch*.

¹⁸ (1990). “Mandela, Buthelezi tour clash site - separately.” *St Louis Post-Dispatch*.

¹⁹ (1990). *Sunday Mail*.

²⁰ (1990). *Courier Mail*.

²¹ (1990). “Albanian leaders announce reforms.” *St. Petersburg Times*.

²² (1991). “Nation missing servicemen Kerry pursuing ‘hot leads,’ he says.” *St. Louis Post*.

²³ (1991). “Yugoslavia more fighting reported in Croatia.” *St. Louis Post*.

²⁴ (1991). “S. African unrest kills 6 more.” *St. Louis Post*.

- (1991) Leaders of warring factions asked for military and police reinforcements to help end battles that killed 33 people and turned to Johannesburg township into a war zone. Delegations of ANC and IFP urged security forces to keep supporters of the two groups at a “safe distance” from each other.²⁵
- (1991) Most of the factional clashes that killed 550 to 600 people in the first three months of 1991 involved followers of IFP and ANC.²⁶
- (1992) At least 16 people were killed in South Africa during clashes between supporters of the ANC and the IFP.²⁷
- (1992) An ANC official died after an assassination attempt on Abdul Awetha, an IFP leader.²⁸
- (1992) More than 3,000 people were killed in 20 months due to township violence, mainly involving ANC and IFP supporters.²⁹
- (1992) 6 people were killed in the township of Soweto and four members of a family were killed when their van was shot up outside Pietermaritzburg during fighting between the ANC and the IFP.³⁰
- (1992) A battle between the ANC and the IFP took place in the Natal province resulting in 8 people being killed.³¹
- (1993) At least 34 people were killed in the Natal province in fighting between the ANC and the IFP.³²
- (1993) ANC’s plan for democratic elections was bitterly opposed to Zulu-based IFP, whose followers were locked in a township war with ANC loyalists. The violence killed more than 8,000 people in three years.³³
- (1993) Seven hostel residents were killed and 40 wounded when suspected members of the IFP attacked Durban Deep Hostel.³⁴

²⁵ (1991). “ANC, Inkatha appeal for police assistance.” *St. Petersburg Times*.

²⁶ (1991). “Black factions’ truce threatened in South Africa.” *New York Times*.

²⁷ (1992). “16 more people killed as south africans mourn over boipatong massacre vicims.” *Xinhua General News*.

²⁸ (1992). “21 people killed near johannesburg.” *Xinhua General News Service*.

²⁹ (1992). “19 people killed in renewed violence in south africa.” *Xinhua General News*.

³⁰ (1992). “U.S. economy economists see only slow recovery.” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

³¹ (1992). “After the vote: Can South Africa escape the violence?” *The Washington Post*.

³² (1993). “Jordan’s King Hussein voices disaffection with Saddam.” *USA Today*.

³³ (1993). “7 killed in attacks on S. African trains.” *St. Louis Dispatch*.

³⁴ (1993). “Mandela offers olive branch to Buthelezi; Goldstone report lists wrong-doing of security forces.” *The Guardian*.

- (1993) Supporters of the IFP living in a hostel opened fire on a group of ANC supporters who marched by the hostel in Thokoza township to a police station to hand over a memorandum of demands.³⁵
- (1994) A gun battle took place outside the ANC headquarters during a march through Johannesburg by Zulu supporters of King Goodwill Zwelithini and his uncle, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. At least eight Zulus were killed, and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party charged that they were killed by strategically placed ANC snipers.³⁶
- (1994) Gunmen supporting the IFP and the ANC fought for hours, scattering and wounding hundreds of people.³⁷
- (1994) Police suspected a church attack was linked to the rivalry between the ANC and the IFP.³⁸
- (1994) A man is quoted saying, "In Natal, if you vote, the Inkatha Freedom Party will kill you. If you don't vote, the ANC's 'comrades' will kill you. Everyone tries to kill you here."³⁹
- (1995) 10 IFP sympathisers were killed near Port Shepstone. In response, the IFP attacked people associated with the ANC.⁴⁰
- (1995) 1000 armed men and women, believed to be supporters of IFP, attacked an ANC stronghold.⁴¹
- (1995) Reports of fighting between IFP and ANC.⁴²
- (1995) 69 people died in incidents in Natal-KwaZulu Province where conflict simmered between ANC and IFP.⁴³

Violence Location:

- Tokoza (1990)
- Soweto (1992)

³⁵ (1993). "Mandela condemns thokoza massacre." *Xinhua General News Service*.

³⁶ (1994). "ANC headquarters is target of two attacks by gunmen." *The Irish Times*.

³⁷ (1994). "Johannesburg battles kill 18, jolt politicians; ANC-Inkatha fight prompts conciliation talks." *The Washington Post*.

³⁸ (1994). "Attack on church kills three; Zulus suspected." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

³⁹ (1994). "Civil war imperils S. African future: 4,000 dead, thousands flee to refugee camps." *St Louis Post-Dispatch*.

⁴⁰ (1995). "Women and children killed in KwaZulu-Natal violence." *Agence France Presse*.

⁴¹ (1995). "Rival zulus kill 13 in wild attack." *Courier Mail*.

⁴² (1995). "*The Bismarck Tribune*."

⁴³ (1995). "Crime grips the new South Africa." *Sunday Herald Sun*.

- Natal (1992) (1993) (1995)
- Port Shepstone (1995)

Casualties:

- 760 (1990)
- 550-600 (1991)
- 32 (1992)
- 34 (1993)
- 8 (1994)
- 69 (1995)

Rivalry Certainty:

- 1 (1990)
- 1 (1991)
- 1 (1992)
- 1 (1993)
- 1 (1994)
- 1 (1995)

Maximum Rivalry Level:

- 3 (1990)
- 3 (1991)
- 3 (1992)
- 3 (1993)
- 3 (1994)
- 3 (1995)

Maximum Rivalry Level Certainty:

- 1 (1990)
- 1 (1991)
- 1 (1992)
- 1 (1993)
- 1 (1994)
- 1 (1995)

Intra/Interfield:

- Intra (1990)
- Intra (1991)
- Intra (1992)
- Intra (1993)
- Intra (1994)
- Intra (1995)

African National Congress - ANC (1990-1996)

Rivalry #2: Black Cats (1990-1992)

Violence: (1990-1992)

Notes: Black Cats→ANC (1990)

- (1990-1992) Black Cats members were sent to Ermelo to assassinate people affiliated with the ANC, killing over 20 people.⁴⁴

Violence Location:

- Eastern Transvaal (1990)

Rivalry Certainty:

- 1 (1990)

Maximum Rivalry Level:

- 3 (1990)

Maximum Rivalry Level Certainty:

- 1 (1990)

⁴⁴ *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report Volume 3.*

Sri Lanka

All Groups and Years:

LTTE (1990-2009)

JVP (1990)

Buddhist Monks (2013-2014)

People's Revolutionary Red Army (1990)

Home Guard (1990-2007)

Green Tigers (1990-1991)

Karuna Group (2004-2007)

People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (1990-2002)

Black Cats (1990-1991)

Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP) (1990-2002)

Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) (1990-2000)

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)

Rivalry #1: Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO)

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #2: Home Guard

Violence

Rivalry #3: Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP)

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #4: People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE)

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #5: Karuna Group

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #6: JVP

Violence

Rivalry #7: Black Cats

Violence

Rivalry #8: Green Tigers

Violence

Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO)

Rivalry #1: Home Guard

Denouncement

Rivalry #2: People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE)

Denouncement

Violence

People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE)

Rivalry #1: Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP)

Violence

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (1990-2009)

Rivalry #1: Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) (1990-2000)

Denouncement: (1991, 1995, 1998)

Notes: TELO→LTTE (1991, 1995); LTTE→TELO(1998)

- (1991) A TELO political advisor was quoted as saying that the LTTE alone cannot negotiate on behalf of the Tamil people and that all parties must be involved in discussions.¹
- (1995) TELO declared that the LTTE will not permit any other political party to function democratically in the north. They cited the killing of a TELO general counsel member by the LTTE as evidence.²
- (1998) The LTTE has called TELO “traitors.”³

Violence: (1990-2000)

Notes: Symmetric (1999-2000); LTTE→TELO (1990-1998)

- (1991) Visiting detectives met with TELO to discuss the killing of hundreds of their faithful members by the LTTE.⁴
- (1991) TELO and PLOTE are cooperating with security forces against the LTTE. TELO put the death toll at 185.⁵
- (1991) A military spokesman said LTTE guerrillas killed two TELO cadres.⁶
- (1995) Since 1986 the LTTE have killed over 3,000 Tamil political activists, including TELO leaders.⁷

¹ (August 26, 1991). “anti-ltte tamil groups want role in proposed talks.” *The Xinhua General Overseas News Service*.

² (May 27, 1995). “Tamil leader says Tigers are opposed to political solution.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

³ (January 5, 1998). “Tamil parties agree no-violence pact before elections.” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁴ (June 3, 1991). “No breakthrough in Gandhi assassination probe.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁵ (June 14, 1991). “Sri Lankan village counts the dead after massacre.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁶ (August 15, 1991). “Children forced to give blood to Tigers, military claims.” *Agence France Presse*.

⁷ (October 13, 1995). “Tamil Tigers have killed over 3,000 Tamil political activists since 1986, official says.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

- (1995) LTTE militants ambushed a bus carrying civilians and policemen killing three women and two police personnel. Earlier in the day, suspected LTTE militants shot dead a cadre of TELO.⁸
- (1995) The LTTE shot dead a member of the TELO. Another TELO member was injured when a powerful bomb delivered to the TELO office exploded.⁹
- (1995) At least five members of rival Tamil groups were assassinated by the Tigers this week alone, including two senior officials of TELO.¹⁰
- (1996) LTTE rebels killed three people and wounded 20. The leader of the TELO was killed when separatist [LTTE] guerrillas threw a hand grenade into the party's offices, officials said.¹¹
- (1997) Official sources reported that the LTTE have decimated TELO politically and militarily, saying that they have killed 2,120 Tamil civilians from 1975 to date.¹²
- (1998) A Sri Lankan military convoy, working in tandem with the TELO became the target of a claymore mine attack by the LTTE. A number of people were killed and several injured.¹³
- (1998) Seven members of the TELO were wounded when the Tigers [LTTE] set off a claymore mine.¹⁴
- (1999) TELO cadres are fighting alongside the army against the LTTE in many forward defence areas.¹⁵

⁸ (May 26, 1995). "Battles bring Batticaloa to a standstill." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁹ (December 29, 1995). "Government radio says Tamil Tigers harassing residents in east." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

¹⁰ (December 31, 1995). "Tamil Tigers step up "terror campaign" against Tamil parties." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

¹¹ (August 27, 1996). "Tamil Rebels Kill 3, Wound 20." *United Press International*.

¹² (November 20, 1997). "Sources claim Tamil Tigers have "murdered" over 10,000 Tamils." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

¹³ (September 18, 1998). "Tigers Issue Report on Bombings, "People's Struggle" in Wannu." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

¹⁴ (October 11, 1998). "25 killed in continuing clashes in Sri Lanka." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁵ (February 21, 1999). "Sri Lankan Army Asks Two Anti-Tamil Tiger Groups to Disarm Following Clashes." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

- (2000) Three paramilitary police personnel were killed and four regular policemen injured when the LTTE attacked a checkpoint. Eight LTTE members were killed in two separate strikes. The former chairman of TELO was shot and later died of his injuries.¹⁶
- (2000) The LTTE shot dead two members of TELO.¹⁷
- (2000) TELO has a paramilitary section which fights alongside the Sri Lankan security forces against the LTTE.¹⁸

Violence Locations:

- Batticaloa (1991) (1998) (2000)
- Vavuniya (1993)
- Trinkalan (1995)
- Akkaraipattu (1995)
- Trincomalee (1996)
- Kommanthurai (1998)

Casualties:

- 1700 (1985-1995)
- 2 (1991)
- 1 (1995)
- 5 (1995)
- 3 (1996)
- 7 (1998)
- 2 (2000)
- 9 (2000)

¹⁶ (June 8, 2000). "Indian cabinet discusses Sri Lanka, clashes reported." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

¹⁷ (June 29, 2000). "Sri Lanka fighting kills 13." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁸ (October 26, 2000). "Journalists protest against killing of colleague by militias." *BBC Monitoring World Media*.

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (1990-2009)

Rivalry #2: Home Guard (1990-2007)

Violence: (1990-1991, 1995-2001, 2004-2007)

Notes: Symmetric (1990); LTTE→HG (1991, 1995-2001, 2004-2007)

- (1990) Extrajudicial killings redoubled after the LTTE broke off negotiations with the Government in June and began attacking police forces and villagers. In response, home guards carried out a number of abductions and extrajudicial killings.¹⁹
- (1991) A member of the home guard was killed by the LTTE.²⁰
- (1995) Three paramilitary home guards were shot dead by LTTE gunmen. Five LTTE men were also blown to pieces while priming a landmine intended for the army.²¹
- (1995) Members of the LTTE came in the night and entered houses, killing people in their sleep. One family of a home guard was reportedly specifically targeted and killed although the home guard himself was not present.²²
- (1996) Gunmen of the LTTE attacked the army patrol, killing three soldiers, two women, and three home guards in the area. An LTTE gunman was shot dead by an army trooper [home guard] after the rebel killed a police constable.²³
- (1996) The LTTE shot dead a police constable and a paramilitary home guard.²⁴
- (1996) Tamil Tiger rebels [LTTE] killed 15 Sri Lankan home guards and policemen after overrunning a remote police post.²⁵
- (1996) At least 13 policemen and 3 home guards were killed when Tamil rebels [LTTE] attacked a police post.²⁶

¹⁹ (February 1, 1991). "Sri Lanka." *U.S. Dept. of State Dispatch*.

²⁰ (August 15, 1991). "Children forced to give blood to Tigers, military claims." *Agence France Presse*.

²¹ (June 28, 1995). "Sri Lanka toll climbs to 150 as Tamil Tigers smash army camp." *Agence France Presse*.

²² (November 14, 1995). "Testimony James McDonald Sri Lanka Coordinator Amnesty International House International Relations Asia And Pacific Turmoil In Sri Lanka." *Federal Document Clearing House Congressional Testimony*.

²³ (January 22, 1996). "Tamil Tigers step up attacks, Sri Lanka toll 10." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁴ (May 11, 1996). "Tamil Tigers ambush army patrol in east Sri Lanka." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁵ (September 28, 1996). "Tamil Tiger rebels kill 15 Sri Lankan security men." *The Canadian Press*.

²⁶ (October 22, 1996). "13 policemen killed in north-central Sri Lanka." *Xinhua News Agency*.

- (1996) Five people, including two home guards, were killed and seven others wounded when rebels of the LTTE attacked a police post. Sources said the LTTE rebels suffered heavy casualties when their attack was repulsed.²⁷
- (1997) LTTE attacked the forward defense line with mortars and rocket propelled grenades. Four home guards and one soldier were killed and 15 others wounded.²⁸
- (1997) LTTE rebels shot dead a home guard.²⁹
- (1998) The LTTE killed six paramilitary home guards and a police constable after smashing their guard post.³⁰
- (1998) The LTTE attacked Sri Lankan home guards killing one and injuring another.³¹
- (1999) Suspected LTTE guerrillas went on a pre-dawn rampage massacring at least 49 civilians and a paramilitary home guard.³²
- (2000) Rebels of the LTTE killed one home guard in an attack which acted as bait to draw the army into a mine trap.³³
- (2000) A claymore mine explosion set off by suspected LTTE rebels killed three home guards and wounded four others.³⁴
- (2001) LTTE rebels attacked a party of army, police and home guards who were clearing a road, killing one police constable, one home guard, and two soldiers. Army reinforcements confronted a group of 15 withdrawing LTTE rebels. At least four rebels were killed and two soldiers also died.³⁵
- (2001) Gunmen of the LTTE attacked and killed five home guards who were providing protection to local farmers.³⁶

²⁷ (October 27, 1996). "5 killed in fighting with tamil rebels." *Xinhua News Agency*.

²⁸ (January 9, 1997). "Clashes reported; army claims destruction of rebel base." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

²⁹ (October 20, 1997). "At Least 100 Tamil Rebels Killed in Sea Action Against Navy." *BBC*.

³⁰ (February 24, 1998). "Sri Lanka pounds Tiger bunkers, Indians rescue survivors of blasted ship." *Agence France Presse*.

³¹ (April 1, 1998). "Tamil Tiger Rebels Reported in Attacks on Government Forces." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

³² (September 18, 1999). "Massacre in Sri Lanka village kills 50." *Agence France Presse*.

³³ (April 14, 2000). "Mine Blast Kills 3, Wounds 12 in Sri Lanka." *Xinhua News Agency*.

³⁴ (June 8, 2000). "Sri Lanka police detain suspects after suicide bombing." *Associated Press International*.

³⁵ (June 1, 2001). "Death Toll in Clash in Sri Lanka Hits 12." *Xinhua General News Service*.

³⁶ (July 31, 2001). "Sri Lanka's Tiger rebels kill five police in fresh attack." *Agence France Presse*.

- (2004) The LTTE abducted two home guards.³⁷
- (2006) Since December 5, 2005, the LTTE has killed 64 army personnel, 36 naval men, four Air Force personnel, 10 police officers, and 7 home guards.³⁸
- (2006) One home guard was killed and two others were seriously injured in an claymore mine explosion blamed on suspected Tamil Tigers [LTTE].³⁹
- (2006) Two LTTE gunmen shot a home guard returning from work.⁴⁰
- (2006) Two Sri Lankan policemen and five home guards were reportedly killed by the LTTE as they claimed the Army was making an advance into their territory.⁴¹
- (2007) Home guards along the forward defense line were confronted by the LTTE several times. At least 10 LTTE cadres and one home guard were killed in exchange of fire.⁴²
- (2007) A soldier and a paramilitary home guard were killed when the LTTE ambushed them.⁴³
- (2007) Four Tamil guerrillas [LTTE] and four home guards have been killed in fighting between Sri Lankan security forces and the rebels.⁴⁴
- (2007) At least four civilians were hurt when Tamil Tiger rebels [LTTE] clashed with police paramilitary home guards.⁴⁵
- (2007) At least five people, including four home guards, were killed in a LTTE attack on a military checkpoint.⁴⁶

Violence Location:

- Polonnaruwa District (1995)
- Nikawewa village (1996)

³⁷ (September 3, 2004). "South Asia headlines." *Agence France Presse*.

³⁸ (April 24, 2006). "Threat of inter-ethnic violence worries Lankans." *Hindustan Times*.

³⁹ (May 16, 2006). "More violence kills one, injures five in Sri Lanka's east and north." *Xinhua General News Service*.

⁴⁰ (July 10, 2006). "Sri Lankan troops kill 2 suspected Tamil guerrillas in northwestern Sri Lanka." *Associated Press International*.

⁴¹ (November 23, 2006). "Deaths reported as clashes continue in Sri Lanka." *Xinhua General News Service*.

⁴² (May 3, 2007). "13 LTTE Cadres Killed, Says Army." *The Hindu*.

⁴³ (June 1, 2007). "4 killed in northeastern Sri Lanka." *Xinhua General News Service*.

⁴⁴ (July 24, 2007). "Clashes leave eight dead in Sri Lanka." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

⁴⁵ (August 1, 2007). "Civilians hurt in paramilitary-rebel clash in eastern Sri Lanka." *Xinhua General News Service*.

⁴⁶ (August 20, 2007). "5 people killed in northern Sri Lanka." *Xinhua General News Service*.

- Trincomalee district (1996)
- Morakotanchenai in the district of Batticaloa (1996)
- Wanela post, about 30 kilometres from the eastern port of Trincomalee (1996)
- Polonnaruwa District (1996)
- Ampara district (1997)
- Batticaloa district (1997)
- Vavuniya (1997)
- Nindavur (1998)
- Punchi Sigiriya village in the district of Ampara (1999)
- Northern Wannu Region (2000)
- Vavuniya (2000)
- Trincomalee District (2001)
- Nugathenna village in the Welikanda area (2001)
- Trincomalee (2004)
- Sammanthurai village (2006)
- Thambalagamuwa, Eastern Trincomalee district (2006)
- Bakkiella in the eastern Ampara district (2006)
- Etambagaha in the north central Kebithigollewa area (2006)
- Northern town of Vavuniya (2007)
- Thiruwegama in Vavuniya district (North Sri Lanka) (2007)
- Thambalagamuwa in Kantalai (2007)
- Periyakulam in the northern Vavuniya district (2007)
- Weli-Oya (2007)
- Batticaloa (2007)

Casualties:

- 1 (1991)
- 8 (1995)
- 2 (1996)
- 8 (1996)
- 1 (1996)

- 15 (1996)
- 16+ (1996)
- 5 (1996)
- 4 (1997)
- 4 (1997)
- 1 (1998)
- 6 (1998)
- 50 (1999)
- 16 (2000)
- 3 (2000)
- 12 (2001)
- 5 (2001)
- 1 (2006)
- 1 (2006)
- 7 (2006)
- 2 (2007)
- 8 (2007)
- 4 (2007)
- 5 (2007)
- 2 (2007)
- 14 (2007)

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (1990-2009)

Rivalry #3: Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP) (1990-2002)

Denouncement: (1991, 1992, 1995, 1998-2002)

Notes: EPDP→LTTE (1991-1992,1995,1999, 2000), LTTE→EPDP (1998, 2001, 2002)

- (1991) The leader of the EPDP said the LTTE was demanding blood from the civilian population in Jaffna to treat cadres who have been wounded in the fighting.⁴⁷
- (1991) In a broadcast on the state-owned Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corp., the EPDP leader appealed to Tamils to rise against the "fascist dictatorship of the LTTE."⁴⁸
- (1992) The EPDP has alleged that the LTTE has carried out several attacks on their offices causing injuries and damage to property.⁴⁹
- (1995) Mr. Chintamani de Silva of the EPDP told the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation that the LTTE eliminated anyone who was against their policies, including academics, professionals, and prominent residents.⁵⁰
- (1998) The EPDP has been called "traitors" by the Tamil Tigers.⁵¹
- (1999) Officials said the EPDP had staged a strike Tuesday to protest Monday's killing of their party member by alleged LTTE gunmen.⁵²
- (2000) The EPDP MP said that his party backs the government's war against the LTTE. He said that everyone is blaming the government but the Tigers have displaced people. Therefore, the war against the Tigers should be continued.⁵³
- (2001) An LTTE leader said that the EPDP was reportedly "engaged in a calculated, vicious propaganda campaign to discredit our liberation organization and to confuse the people of Jaffna. It is sad to note that the Sri Lanka government and its anti-LTTE ally,

⁴⁷ (July 16, 1991). "More than 175 dead in week-long clash." *Agence France Presse*.

⁴⁸ (August 11, 1991). "Tamils called to rise against LTTE as army claims further victories." *Agence France Presse*.

⁴⁹ (November 24, 1992). "Sri Lankan president asks PM to take up Tamil harassment at Oslo." *Agence France Presse*.

⁵⁰ (October 13, 1995). "Tamil Tigers have killed over 3,000 Tamil political activists since 1986, official says." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁵¹ (January 5, 1998). "Tamil parties agree no-violence pact before elections." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁵² (June 01, 1999). "Resignations as gunmen kill Sri Lankan politician." *Agence France Presse*.

⁵³ (May 16, 2000). "Tamil Tigers will not be allowed to advance into Jaffna - Sri Lankan president." *BBC Monitoring International Reports*.

the EPDP are attempting to exploit the phenomenal tragedy faced by the American people to their own political advantage."⁵⁴

- (2002) There are widespread LTTE-backed protests against the EPDP.⁵⁵

Threat: (1995, 1999)

Notes: EPDP→LTTE(1995); LTTE→EPDP(1999)

- (1995) Douglas Devananda, of the EPDP, said it would support an all out offensive against the LTTE provided a political package for the Tamils was implemented.⁵⁶
- (1999) The LTTE threatened opponents over their clandestine radio station, "Even in places where the air can't enter, the LTTE will be there to carry out their threats. In the future, traitorous deeds will not be tolerated, nor will traitors be pardoned." The EPDP said they are aware of and prepared for the threats to be carried out.⁵⁷

Violence: (1991, 199-1996, 1998-2000)

Notes: LTTE→EPDP (1995, 1996, 1998, 1999); EPDP→LTTE (1991, 2000)

- (1991) An EPDP leader said the LTTE was demanding blood from the civilian population to treat cadres who have been wounded in the fighting.⁵⁸
- (1995) Since 1986 the LTTE has killed more than 3,000 Tamil political activists, an estimated 1700 of whom were EPDP members.⁵⁹
- (1996) The EPDP is anti-LTTE, and Devananda himself has survived an assassination attempt by the Tigers.⁶⁰
- (1998) Eight EPDP and five LTTE men were killed when a group of LTTE rebels raided an EPDP camp.⁶¹

⁵⁴ (September 16, 2001). "Tamil Tigers Condemn Terrorist Attacks in USA," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*.

⁵⁵ (December 9, 2002). "India Says Sri Lanka Peace Should Respect Democracy and Human Rights," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*.

⁵⁶ (May 31, 1995). "Tigers mount fresh attacks amid calls for peace." *Agence France Presse*.

⁵⁷ (June 09, 1999). "Sri Lanka's moderate Tamil groups brace for Tamil Tiger attacks." *Associated Press International*.

⁵⁸ (July 16, 1991). "More than 175 dead in week-long clash." *Agence France Presse*.

⁵⁹ (October 13, 1995). "Tamil Tigers have killed over 3,000 Tamil political activists since 1986, official says." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁶⁰ (November 25, 1996). "Tamil leader apologises to Rajiv Gandhi widow over slaying." *Agence France Presse*.

⁶¹ (January 24, 1998). "Tigers Attack Tamil Party Camp." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

- (1998) Friday's killing of two candidates from the EPDP by the Tigers was aimed at sabotaging the elections.⁶²
- (1999) A suspected LTTE rebel shot at and injured a village council chairman of the EPDP. The politician chased away the attacker when he opened fire with his own pistol.⁶³
- (1999) The EPDP had staged a strike in the peninsula Tuesday to protest Monday's killing of their party member by alleged LTTE gunmen.⁶⁴
- (1999) "In the past one month," an EPDP leader said, "Tamil Tigers guerrillas have killed three EPDP middle-ranking leaders."⁶⁵
- (1999) Suspected Tamil Tiger rebels shot and killed the local secretary of the EPDP in a vegetable market. The assassins fled after the street attack.⁶⁶
- (2000) The EPDP has been blamed for the killing of an LTTE leader by the other Tamil groups and journalists.⁶⁷

Violence Location:

- Jaffna District
- Punkuduthivu (1998)
- Jaffna (2000)

Casualties:

- 1700 (1987-1995)
- 2 (1998)
- 13 (1998)
- 3 (1999)
- 1 (2000)

⁶² (January 28, 1998). "War-ravaged Jaffna gears for local ballot amid fears of bullets." *Agence France Presse*.

⁶³ (May 6, 1999). "Ethnic Tamil council politician shot dead in northern Sri Lanka." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁶⁴ (June 01, 1999). "Resignations as gunmen kill Sri Lankan politician." *Agence France Presse*.

⁶⁵ (June 09, 1999). "Sri Lanka's moderate Tamil groups brace for Tamil Tiger attacks." *Associated Press International*.

⁶⁶ (July 16, 1999). "Tamil rebels kill two Tamil leaders." *Associated Press International*.

⁶⁷ (October 26, 2000). "Journalists Protest Killing of Colleague by Militias," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*.

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (1990-2009)

Rivalry #4: People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) (1990-2002)

Denouncement: (1991, 1995, 1998, 2000)

Notes: PLOTE→LTTE (1991, 1995, 2000), Symmetric (1998)

- (1991) PLOTE officials said they told the detectives that they believed the LTTE carried out the assassination.⁶⁸
- (1991) Vice President of the PLOTE said that he told Sri Lanka political and military leaders that there should not be any talks with the LTTE unless they agree to lay down their arms. He expressed the possibility of the LTTE taking advantage of another ceasefire.⁶⁹
- (1995) The PLOTE accused the LTTE of violating the truce by pouring armed cadres into the volatile eastern province, and urged the government to take action.⁷⁰
- (1998) The PLOTE has been called "traitors" by the Tamil Tigers.⁷¹
- (1998) PLOTE recently contested local council elections in the former LTTE rebel hold of northern Jaffna. The group which has three members in parliament consistently opposed LTTE and all its top leaders figured prominently in LTTE's hit-list."⁷²
- (2000) No one claimed responsibility for the attack, but the PLOTE party blamed LTTE rebels for the killing.⁷³

Violence: (1990-1993, 1995-2001)

Notes: Symmetric (1990-1992, 1995-1996, 1999-2000); LTTE→PLOTE (1993, 1997-1998, 2001)

⁶⁸ (June 2, 1991). "Indian detectives meet former Tamil guerrillas in Colombo." *Agence France Presse*.

⁶⁹ (August 26, 1991). "anti-ltte tamil groups want role in proposed talks." *The Xinhua General Overseas News Service*.

⁷⁰ (January 26, 1995). "Suspected Tamil rebel strangled, truce holds in Sri Lanka." *Agence France Presse*.

⁷¹ (January 5, 1998). "Tamil parties agree no-violence pact before elections." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁷² (May 13, 1998). "Tamil Tigers Blamed for Death of Rival Leader." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

⁷³ (January 15, 2000). "Sri Lanka Official, 10 Others Killed." *Associated Press Online*.

- (1990) Military officials in Colombo said at least 18 guerrillas of the pro-India PLOTE were killed in an attack by the dominant LTTE. At least three LTTE militants also were killed in the clash that started Monday and continued early Tuesday.⁷⁴
- (1990) Tamil Tigers guerrillas killed 48 PLOTE fighters and captured 22, a government statement said. Two Tigers were killed and seven injured. At least 58 people were killed in similar clashes earlier in the week.⁷⁵
- (1991) The visiting detectives had meetings with the PLOTE to get more information about their arch rival, the LTTE. Both the TELO and the PLOTE have had hundreds of their faithful killed by the LTTE.⁷⁶
- (1991) Tamil Tiger guerrillas lost 10 men and killed at least three rival Tamil militants during pitched battles in northern Sri Lanka over the weekend. The guerrillas died in clashes between the dominant LTTE and the PLOTE.⁷⁷
- (1992) The LTTE fought a fierce gun battle Tuesday with members of the PLOTE.⁷⁸
- (1993) Some 25 gunmen from the separatist LTTE fired mortar bombs and rockets at a military check post. A spokesman for the PLOTE said they killed at least five LTTE guerrillas and captured two Tiger rebels alive. The PLOTE said they lost three cadres in the fighting.⁷⁹
- (1993) 50 LTTE attacked the PLOTE militia post in north-central Vavuniya, a militia spokesman said. 14 Tiger rebels, three PLOTE men and a soldier died, along with many civilians.⁸⁰
- (1995) Cadres from the PLOTE gunned down a LTTE sympathiser in northern Mannar.⁸¹
- (1995) At least five members of rival Tamil groups were assassinated by the LTTE this week alone. The victims included two senior officials of TELO and PLOTE.⁸²

⁷⁴ (January 2, 1990). "21 Tamil Militants Killed in Factional Fighting." *The Associated Press*.

⁷⁵ (January 4, 1990). "Sri-Lanka." *The Canadian Press*.

⁷⁶ (June 3, 1991). "No breakthrough in Gandhi assassination probe." *Agence France Presse*.

⁷⁷ (July 1, 1991). "Rival Tamil guerrillas die in clashes." *Agence France Presse*.

⁷⁸ (April 15, 1992). "Seven civilians killed in shoot-out between rival Tamil groups." *Agence France Presse*.

⁷⁹ (May 31, 1993). "Tigers rocket military check point killing at least 19." *Agence France Presse*.

⁸⁰ (June 1, 1993). "Rebels use civilians as shield." *Herald Sun*.

⁸¹ (January 26, 1995). "Suspected Tamil rebel strangled, truce holds in Sri Lanka." *Agence France Presse*.

⁸² (December 31, 1995). "Tamil Tigers step up "terror campaign" against Tamil parties." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

- (1996) The military wing of the PLOTE, the Mohan Group, and the Rasheek Group were responsible for the killing of a number of people, including both LTTE operatives and civilians.⁸³
- (1997) The LTTE has murdered over 10,000 Tamils, including 2,000 civilians. The other 8,000 are members of various Tamil militant and democratic political groups such as the PLOTE.⁸⁴
- (1998) Sri Lanka's LTTE guerrillas carried out a mine attack killing at least six members of the PLOTE, officials here said.⁸⁵
- (1998) 14 LTTE rebels were killed during a raid followed by an attack on troops guarding a bridge on Sunday. Two soldiers and two civilians were killed in the attack and 16 were injured, army said. The dead included a member of militant PLOTE, which is assisting troops in that area in the fight against LTTE.⁸⁶
- (1998) A joint camp of the Sinhalese army and the PLOTE was attacked and destroyed by the LTTE in Batticaloa. A number of soldiers are believed to have been either killed or wounded. The PLOTE organization says it lost two of its members.⁸⁷
- (1998) A PLOTE member of parliament and his wife narrowly escaped death and one of their bodyguards was killed when a group of heavily armed LTTE rebels stormed their residence, police said Tuesday.⁸⁸
- (1998) The MP representing the PLOTE was killed in an explosion as he was returning home from a religious ceremony. Police said they believe rebels of the LTTE planted the mine and triggered it by remote control.⁸⁹
- (1998) A Sri Lankan military convoy became the target of a Claymore mine attack by the LTTE. Reports say that a number of people were killed and several injured. It is to be

⁸³ (February 1997). "Sri Lanka Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1996." *Department of State Human Rights Country Reports*

⁸⁴ (November 20, 1997). "Sources claim Tamil Tigers have "murdered" over 10,000 Tamils." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

⁸⁵ (May 12, 1998). "Sri Lanka Tigers kill six rivals in mine attack attack." *Agence France Presse*.

⁸⁶ (May 26, 1998). "Fourteen Rebels Killed in Fighting on 24th May." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

⁸⁷ (May 27, 1998) "Rebel Dispatch Details Offensive in Batticaloa." *BBC*.

⁸⁸ (June 9, 1998). "Sri Lankan parliamentarian and wife narrowly escape rebel attack." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

⁸⁹ (July 15, 1998). "Landmine blast kills Sri Lankan Tamil MP." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

noted that this area is part of the maximum security zone of the Sri Lankan troops, the PLOTE, the TELO, as well as Rasi group.⁹⁰

- (1998) A woman was killed and two cadres of the PLOTE were injured on Friday in a land mine explosion allegedly set off by LTTE.⁹¹
- (1999) In late January the Jaffna organizer of the PLOTE was killed by the LTTE while traveling.⁹²
- (1999) Both PLOTE and TELO maintain armed cadres that fight alongside the army against the LTTE in many forward defence areas.⁹³
- (1999) A bomb was timed to go off during a PLOTE meeting that was postponed. A passerby was killed. The six wounded were believed to be PLOTE members. Police blamed the LTTE for the attack.⁹⁴
- (1999) A senior official of PLOTE was killed and his bodyguard wounded when their motorcycle went over a landmine. Police said the attacks were from the LTTE.⁹⁵
- (1999) The military wing leader of PLOTE was shot dead by a suspected LTTE gunman near his house in northern Sri Lanka, military officials said.⁹⁶
- (1999) A PLOTE leader was killed near his party office. Army sources said that he was killed when an LTTE suicide bomber blasted himself to pieces at the heavily guarded PLOTE office, but PLOTE sources said that he was killed in a Claymore mine blast.⁹⁷
- (2000) A gunman shot and killed a PLOTE leader when he was riding his motorcycle late Friday. No one claimed responsibility for the attack, but PLOTE blamed LTTE rebels for the killing.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ (September 18, 1998). "Tamil Tigers Issue Report on Bombings, 'People's Struggle' in Wannu." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*

⁹¹ (November 13, 1998). "Eight Killed in Rebel-security Forces Clashes in Northern Sri Lanka." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

⁹² (February 01, 1999). "The PRS Group/International Country Risk Guide."

⁹³ (February 21, 1999). "Sri Lankan Army Asks Two Anti-tamil Tiger Groups to Disarm Following Clashes." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

⁹⁴ (May 06, 1999). "Bomb explodes outside former rebel group's office in Sri Lanka." *Associated Press International*.

⁹⁵ (July 16, 1999). "Tamil rebels kill two Tamil leaders." *Associated Press International*.

⁹⁶ (August 6, 1999). "8 tamil rebels killed in fresh fighting." *Xinhua News Agency*.

⁹⁷ (September 2, 1999). "Tamil Leader Opposed to Tigers Killed in Vavuniya." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

⁹⁸ (January 15, 2000). "Sri Lanka Official, 10 Others Killed." *Associated Press*.

- (2000) The TELO, PLOTE and EPRLF all have paramilitary sections which fight alongside the Sri Lankan security forces against the LTTE.⁹⁹
- (2001) A suspected separatist LTTE rebel suicide bomber blew himself up in eastern Sri Lanka on Thursday, killing himself and three other people. Police said the attack targeted members of the PLOTE.¹⁰⁰

Violence Location:

- Mannar (1995)
- Northern Notchchimotai region (1991)
- Batticaloa (1992, 1998, 2001)
- Chankaladi (1998)
- Mankulam (1998)
- Vanni (1998)
- Vavuniya (1990, 1993, 1998, 1999)
- Jaffna (1999,2000)

Casualties:

- 21 (1990)
- 50 (1990)
- 13 (1991)
- 7 (1992)
- 24 (1993)
- 30 (1993)
- 5 (1995)
- 1 (1995)
- 6 (1998)
- 2 (1998)
- 14 (1998)
- 1 (1998)
- 2 (1998)

⁹⁹ (October 26, 2000). "Journalists protest against killing of colleague by militias." *BBC Monitoring World Media*.

- 1 (1999)
- 1 (1999)
- 3 (1999)
- 1 (1999)
- 1 (2000)
- 4 (2001)

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (1990-2009)

Rivalry #5: Karuna Group (2004-2007)

Denouncement: (2004-2007)

Notes: Symmetric (2004); LTTE→Karuna (2005-2006); Karuna→LTTE (2007)

- (2004) The LTTE's eastern political wing leader said that Sri Lankan authorities are arming Karuna group members to murder innocents and sabotage the peace.¹⁰¹
- (2004) The LTTE's eastern commander has set up a new party, the Tamileela Makkal Viduthalai Puligal (TMVP), which has allied itself with the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front to become an anti-LTTE party.¹⁰²
- (2005) LTTE accuses that the Karuna group is actually a Tamil para-military group working with the intelligence wing of the Sri Lankan armed forces.¹⁰³
- (2006) The LTTE describes the Karuna group and other anti-Tiger Tamil groups as "paramilitaries" and wants them disarmed.¹⁰⁴
- (2006) The TMVP, led by Karuna, has accused LTTE leaders of turning the LTTE into a brutal dictatorship, biased towards northern Tamils against their eastern brethren.¹⁰⁵
- (2007) The Karuna group blames the LTTE for the kidnapping of an academic.¹⁰⁶
- (2007) Col Karuna says he will lay down his weapons "the day the LTTE is defeated" and he thinks the Tamils' best chance lies with the president.¹⁰⁷

Threat: (2006)

Notes: Karuna→LTTE (2006)

- (2006) After attacking and destroying three small LTTE camps, the Karuna group warned the LTTE that they will "search and destroy them wherever they may be."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ (July 7, 2004). "Five killed as woman suicide bomber shatters Sri Lanka truce." *Channel News Asia*.

¹⁰² (December 03, 2004). "Proxy Parties Reject Sri Lankan Government Plans for Defence Pact with India." *IHS Global Insight*.

¹⁰³ (April 25, 2005). "Lankan peace process still very fragile." *Hindustan Times*.

¹⁰⁴ (March 13, 2006). "LTTE warns of danger to peace over 'paramilitaries'." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

¹⁰⁵ (June 29, 2006). "Monitoring Mission In Doubt As Tensions Escalate." *Emerging Markets Online*.

¹⁰⁶ (January 18, 2007). "Sri Lanka's abduction industry has top academic in its grip." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

¹⁰⁷ (March 30, 2007). "Civil war: Between troops and Tigers: refugees caught in Sri Lanka's bloody crossfire: As battle intensifies once more, 150,000 are forced to live in ramshackle camps." *The Guardian*.

¹⁰⁸ (May 8, 2006). "Karuna's men kill 12 in Lanka." *Hindustan Times*.

Violence: (2004-2007)

Notes: Symmetric (2004-2007)

- (2004) LTTE men attacked the Karuna group in the night. There were casualties on both sides.¹⁰⁹
- (2004) Eight Karuna Group cadres, five females and three males, were wounded in fighting with the LTTE in the Vakarai area. Two have died.¹¹⁰
- (2004) A key commander of the Karuna Group was seriously wounded when troops of the LTTE advanced on Vakarai.¹¹¹
- (2005) The LTTE complains that the Sri Lankan armed forces has been using its auxiliaries and the breakaway Karuna group, to attack its cadres, supporters and innocent civilians.¹¹²
- (2005) A member of the LTTE was gunned down by a suspected member of the renegade Karuna group at an LTTE roadblock.¹¹³
- (2005) LTTE rebels, in an apparent retaliation to a previous incident, gunned down a youth belonging to Karuna's group.¹¹⁴
- (2005) The LTTE has attacked the Karuna group in the eastern district of Amparai, killing a top commander.¹¹⁵
- (2005) After an attack on the LTTE by an unidentified gunman, police strongly suspect that a breakaway group of the LTTE led by Karuna could have carried out the attack.¹¹⁶
- (2006) A prominent pro-LTTE politician was killed on Christmas day in a church, allegedly by the Karuna group.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹ (April 9, 2004). "Fighting erupts between Tamil Tiger groups in eastern Sri Lanka." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

¹¹⁰ (April 9, 2004). "Tamil Tiger Infantry Factions Advance." *BBC*.

¹¹¹ (April 10, 2004). "Key Tiger Faction Commander Seriously Wounded in Clashes." *BBC*.

¹¹² (January 23, 2005). "Will Lanka miss the peace bus again?" *Hindustan Times*.

¹¹³ (April 8, 2005). "Violence Reported in Sri Lanka's East." *Xinhua News Agency*.

¹¹⁴ (April 21, 2005). "Six Killed in Factional Fighting in Sri Lanka." *Deutsche Press-Agentur*.

¹¹⁵ (December 6, 2005). "LTTE targets army, Karuna group." *Hindustan Times*.

¹¹⁶ (December 25, 2005). "Pro-LTTE Tamil MP shot dead in church." *Indo-Asian News Service*.

¹¹⁷ (January 2, 2006). "In Sri Lanka Peace Hangs by a Thread." *Hindustan Times*.

- (2006) The rebel area leader [LTTE] was shot dead by suspected Karuna group men.¹¹⁸
- (2006) At least 18 rebels were killed and many wounded when LTTE guerrillas launched a major attack against the Karuna group. The pro-LTTE tamilnet.com website said an LTTE commando unit had launched the assault against Karuna's Kasankulam base, killing "around 20 paramilitary operatives of the Karuna group" and destroying weapons there.¹¹⁹
- (2006) The Karuna group destroyed three small camps of the mainstream LTTE in Trincomalee district and killed 12 persons, the group's spokesman said.¹²⁰
- (2006) The LTTE killed three members of the rival Karuna group and captured two others in the Pattiaddy area of Trincomalee district.¹²¹
- (2006) The Karuna group said that it launched an attack on a Tiger camp in the Trincomalee killing eight cadres. Four other cadres were said to have been killed in a Claymore mine attack at the same place the next morning. Angry Tiger officials dismissed the claim as propaganda and said that only one of their men had been killed.¹²²
- (2006) "Three people have been killed in LTTE-Karuna group fighting and we are trying to figure out their identities," said a police official.¹²³
- (2006) The Karuna group claimed to have killed 35 mainstream [LTTE] guerrillas in eastern Sri Lanka. They said they also injured 25 Tiger cadres in the jungles of Thoppigala early Saturday.¹²⁴
- (2007) Two Karuna group members were killed when LTTE guerrillas attacked them.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ (January 26, 2006). "Tamil Rebel Leader Killed by Rival Faction Ahead of Peace Talks." *Deutsche Press-Agentur*.

¹¹⁹ (April 30, 2006). "Eighteen dead in Tiger infighting, says Sri Lankan military." *Agence France Presse*.

¹²⁰ (May 8, 2006). "Karuna's men kill 12 in Lanka." *Hindustan Times*.

¹²¹ (May 26, 2006). "Seven killed in Sri Lanka as foreign envoys seek to renew talks." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

¹²² (July 21, 2006). "Two Rebel Groups Spar Over Who Represents Tamils." *Inter Press Service*.

¹²³ (December 19, 2006). "Tamil Rebel Faction Fight Leaves Three Dead." *Agence France-Presse*.

¹²⁴ (December 31, 2006). "Breakaway faction claims killing 35 Tamil Tigers in east Sri Lanka." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

¹²⁵ (January 10, 2007). "Fresh Sri Lanka Violence Kills 16." *Agence France-Presse*.

- (2007) The military uncovered prisons and torture chambers in the areas captured from the LTTE. The LTTE said since the Karuna group started attacking the LTTE camps, the LTTE needed a prison to keep captured Karuna cadres.¹²⁶
- (2007) The TMVP, led by Karuna, ambushed a group of LTTE men and killed 13 of them in Batticaloa.¹²⁷
- (2007) In January, the Sri Lankan army drove the LTTE out of Vakarai for the first time in 10 years. The army will not admit it but multiple sources confirm that soldiers from the Karuna group helped them in achieving this victory.¹²⁸
- (2007) At least two members of the LTTE rival Karuna faction were gunned down by mainstream LTTE cadres.¹²⁹

Violence Location:

- Vakarai (2004)
- Trincomalee District (2004, 2005, 2006)
- Amparai (2005)
- Valachenai area (2005)
- Punani area, near Welikanda (2006)
- Thoppigala (2006)
- Eastern Sri Lanka (2006)
- Vavuniya District (2006)
- Thoppigala (2006)
- Vakari (2007)
- Akkaraipattu, Ampara District (2007)
- Batticaloa (2007)

Casualties:

- 1 (2004)
- 8 (2004)

¹²⁶ (January 17, 2007). "Rajapaksa-Wickremesinghe Talks Inconclusive." *The Hindu*.

¹²⁷ (January 21, 2007). "13 Tigers killed by Karuna group." *Hindustan Times*.

¹²⁸ (March 17, 2007). "In bloody and divided Sri Lanka, children become the fighters and the victims on both sides." *The Age (Melbourne, Australia)*.

¹²⁹ (June 1, 2007). "4 killed in northeastern Sri Lanka." *Xinhua General News Service*.

- 1 (2005)
- 1 (2005)
- 6 (2005)
- 1 (2005)
- 1 (2006)
- 1 (2006)
- 1 (2006)
- 12 (2006)
- 18 (2006)
- 3 (2006)
- 35* (2006)
- 3 (2006)
- 2+ (2007)
- 13 (2007)
- 2 (2007)

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (1990-2009)

Rivalry #6: JVP (1990)

Violence: (1990)

Notes:

- (1990) A savage battle took place between the LTTE and the tamil eelam people's liberation front in mannar district in the island's eastern part. The LTTE killed 48 members of the liberation front, losing only two gunmen.¹³⁰

Violence Location:

- Mannar (1990)

Casualties:

- 50 (1990)

¹³⁰ (January 5, 1990). "India and Sri Lanka Begin Talks in New Delhi Today." *TASS*.

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (1990-2009)

Rivalry #7: Black Cats (1990-1991)

Violence: (1991)

Notes: Black Cats→LTTE (1991)

- (1991) Several prominent citizens in Trincomalee claim that Black Cat (aka Green Tiger) death squads operate from a base there. The death squads are hunting for known sympathisers of the LTTE.¹³¹

Violence Location:

- Trincomalee (1991)

Casualties:

- N/A

¹³¹ (April 8, 1991). "Civil strife makes Sri Lanka a tropical hell." *The Independent*.

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (1990-2009)

Rivalry #8: Green Tigers (1990-1991)

Violence: (1991)

Notes: Green Tigers→LTTE (1991)

- (1991) Several prominent citizens in Trincomalee claim that Black Cat (aka Green Tiger) death squads operate from a base there. The death squads are hunting for known sympathisers of the LTTE.¹³²

Violence Location:

- Trincomalee (1991)

Casualties:

- N/A

¹³² (April 8, 1991). "Civil strife makes Sri Lanka a tropical hell." *The Independent*.

Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (1990-2000)

Rivalry #1: Home Guard (1990-2007)

Denouncement: (1990)

Notes: TELO→Home Guard (1990)

- (1990) After yesterday's Muslim reprisal the TELO, accused Muslim Home Guards of starting riots in Tamil areas.¹³³

¹³³ (August 13, 1990). "160 killed in Sri Lankan ethnic strife." *The Guardian*.

Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (1990-2000)

Rivalry #2: People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) (1990-2002)

Denouncement: (1999)

Notes: Symmetric (1999)

- (1999) Rivalry between PLOTE and TELO has recently increased over a dispute about collecting ransom from businessmen in the Vavuniya district. Both groups say ransoms pay for the upkeep of their cadres.¹³⁴

Violence: (1999)

Notes: Symmetric (1999)

- (1999) Three TELO cadres were killed and two civilian bystanders injured when PLOTE members opened fire on their rivals' vehicle. Police said the incident came a week after TELO cadres opened fire at a PLOTE camp in the same district.¹³⁵
- (1999) Three members of the TELO were shot dead by suspected rival PLOTE near a plush shopping centre in Colombo Saturday night. This was followed by four more killings in northern Vavuniya town early on Sunday.¹³⁶
- (1999) Members of the TELO bombed a PLOTE camp within the Vavuniya city limits and destroyed it Tuesday morning, but everyone had escaped before the attack.¹³⁷

Violence Location:

- Colombo (1999)
- Vavuniya (1999)

Casualties:

- 3 (1999)
- 7 (1999)

¹³⁴ (May 16, 1999). "Four Tamils killed in northern Lanka." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

¹³⁵ (February 9, 1999). "Three killed as rival Tamil groups clash in northern Sri Lanka." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

¹³⁶ (May 16, 1999). "Seven Killed in Clashes Between Tamil Groups." *BBC Monitoring South Asia*.

¹³⁷ (May 18, 1999). "Sri Lankan army withdraws weapons from two Tamil groups." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) (1990-2002)

Rivalry #1: Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP) (1990-2002)

Violence: (1997)

Notes: PLOTE→EPDP (1997)

- (1997) A candidate of the EPDP was stabbed by members of PLOTE.¹³⁸

Violence Location:

- Jaffna

Casualties:

- N/A

¹³⁸ (December 30, 1997). "1st election violence reported in northern sri lanka." *Xinhua News Agency*.

Sudan

All Groups and Years:

Janjaweed (2000-2015)

Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) (2001-2015)

SLM/A – MM (2006-2007)

SLM/A – Unity (2007-2008)

Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) (1990-2011)

SPLM/A – North (2012-2015)

SPLM/A – Nasir Faction (1991-1993)

SPLM/A – United (1993-2004)

Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) (2006-2013)

Takfir wal-Hijra (Excommunication and Exodus) (2000-2013)

Liberation and Justice Movement (LJM) (2011-2014)

National Democratic Alliance (NDA) (1996-2001)

National Redemption Front (NRF) (2006)

South Sudan Democratic Movement/Army (SSDM/A) (2010-2011)

South Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SSLM/A) (2002-2012)

Sudan Revolutionary Front (SRF) (2011-2015)

Sudanese Awakening Revolutionary Council (SARC) (2014)

Darfur Joint Resistance Forces (2014-2015)

Pro-Government Militias:

Anyanya II (1990-1993)

Equatoria Defence Force (EDF/Khartoum) (1996-2003)

Popular Defence Forces (PDF) (1990-2007)

People's Police (1990-2007)
South Sudan Defense Forces (SSDF) (1997-2006)
SSDF – Tanginya Faction (2004-2006)
South Sudan Unity Movement/Army (1998-2006)
SPLA Bahr el Ghazal Group (1996-1997)
Fertit Militiamen (Peace Army) (1990-2007)
Murle Forces (1990-2003)
Ambororo (2006)
Mundari Commandos (1990-2006)
Toposa Tribesmen (1990-1992)
Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) (1997-2011)
Arab Pastoralists (1990-2005)

Janjaweed

Rivalry #1: Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A)

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #2: Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #3: SLM/A – MM

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #4: SLM/A – Unity

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #5: National Redemption Front (NRF)

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #6: Sudan Revolutionary Front (SRF)

Violence

Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A)

Rivalry #1: SLM/A – MM

Denouncement

Rivalry #2: Popular Defence Forces (PDF)

Violence

SLM/A-MM

Rivalry #1: National Redemption Front (NRF)

Violence

SLM/A- Unity

Rivalry #1: Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)

Denouncement

Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)

Rivalry #1: Popular Defence Forces (PDF)

Violence

Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A)

Rivalry #1: South Sudan Defense Forces (SSDF)

Violence

Rivalry #2: Anyanya II

Violence

Rivalry #3: Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)

Denouncement

Violence

Rivalry #4: SSLM/A

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #5: Equatoria Defence Force (EDF/Khartoum)

Denouncement

Rivalry #6: South Sudan Democratic Movement/Army (SSDM/A)

Violence

Rivalry #7: SPLM/A – United

Denouncement

Rivalry #8: Popular Defence Forces (PDF)

Violence

Lord's Resistance Army

Rivalry #1: Equatoria Defence Force (EDF/Khartoum)

Violence

South Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SSLM/A)

Rivalry #1: SPLM/A – North

Denouncement

Violence

Janjaweed (2000-2015)

Rivalry #1: Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) (2001-2015)

Denouncement: (2004, 2006-2007, 2009)

Notes: SLM/A→Janjaweed (2004, 2006-2007, 2009)

- (2004) SLM/A demanded that Khartoum stop arming Janjaweed in 2004.¹
- (2006) SLM/A accused Janjaweed of attacking SLM-controlled areas after the signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement.²
- (2007) SLM/A accused Janjaweed of attacking an African Union base at Haskanita.³
- (2009) The SLM/A requested that President Obama force the regime to disarm the Janjaweed.⁴

Violence: (2003-2006, 2008, 2011, 2014)

Notes: Symmetric (2003-2004, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2014); Janjaweed→SLM/A (2005)

- (2003) From the beginning of the conflict in 2003, the SLM/A clashed with the Janjaweed with killings, ethnic cleansings, sexual violence, etc.⁵
- (2003) Fighting began in early 2003 and intensified in late 2003.⁶
- (2003-2004) In April 2003, SLM/A destroyed Sudanese air force planes. The government and Janjaweed responded with ethnic cleansing. By mid-2004, thousands had been killed, injured, and/or displaced.⁷
- (2005) In January 2005, Janjaweed attacked Hamada, killing more than 100 people.⁸
- (2006) In January 2006, both sides clashed at Sha'iriyah, displacing 15,000 people. Ongoing violence also occurred in the Gereida area.⁹

¹ (April 29, 2004). *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

² (2006). *Ossman*.

³ (October 10, 2007). "Sudanese Troops Behind Fatal Attack on Peacekeepers, Says Darfur Rebel Chief." *The Independent*.

⁴ (April 18, 2009). *BBC Monitoring Middle East*.

⁵ (January 2, 2008). "Sudan: Fear for Safety." *Amnesty International*.

⁶ (December 10, 2003). "Sudan; The Other War in Sudan: A Call for High Level Observer in Western Sudan Peace Process." *Africa News*.

⁷ (January 2006). "Imperatives for Immediate Change: The African Union Mission in Sudan." *Human Rights Watch*.

⁸ (February 28, 2005). "New Atrocities as Security Council Dithers." *Africa News*.

⁹ (2006). "Volume 43." *ARB*.

- (2008, 2014) At least 18 people killed by SAF and “allied militias” in June 2008. SLM/A attacked Melit in March 2014, killing 5 people. Janjaweed responded by burning 23 villages, killing 7.¹⁰
- (2011) Both SLM/A and Janjaweed accused of ongoing sexual violence. SLM/A and JEM accused of killing 12 in Kuala.¹¹

¹⁰ (2014). “Darfur: UN Should End Silence on Rights Abuses.” *HRW*.

¹¹ (2011). “Sudan: Darfur: Rape As A Weapon Of War: Sexual Violence And Its Consequences. *HRW*.

Janjaweed (2000-2015)

Rivalry #2: Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) (2006-2013)

Denouncement: (2006)

Notes: JEM→Janjaweed (2006-2007)

- (2006) On Friday, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), an armed Darfuri opposition movement which did not sign the peace deal in May, had accused the government in Khartoum of attacking rebel bases. The JEM said the government, supported by its Janjaweed militia, had shelled the area of Kulkul, about 35 kilometres (22 miles) from North Darfur's capital Al-Fasher and launched numerous air attacks.¹²
- (2007) JEM blamed troops of the national army and Janjaweed militia for the razing of a town.¹³

Violence: (2003-2011)

Notes: Symmetric (2003, 2006, 2008, 2011)

- (2003?) From the beginning of the conflict in 2003, the JEM clashed with the Janjaweed with killings, ethnic cleansings, sexual violence, etc.¹⁴
- (2006) Fighting between Janjaweed and JEM reportedly displaced many civilians in the Gereida area.¹⁵
- (2008) Janjaweed attacked JEM in Saraf Jidad three times in January 2008. One attack killed 24 people.¹⁶
- (2008) Janjaweed attacked JEM several times near Aro Sharow IDP camp and Korlungo in February 2008, killing 20.¹⁷
- (2008) In March 2008, SAF and Janjaweed attacked JEM positions in West Darfur.¹⁸

¹² (July 29, 2006). "Peace Totters in Sudan." *Al Jazeera*.

¹³ (2007). "Volume 43 #2." *ARB*.

¹⁴ (January 2, 2008). "Sudan: Fear for Safety." *Amnesty International*.

¹⁵ (2006). "Volume 43 #4." *ARB*.

¹⁶ (May 2008). "They Shot at Us as We Fled Government Attacks on Civilians in West Darfur." *Human Rights Watch*.

¹⁷ (May 2008). "They Shot at Us as We Fled Government Attacks on Civilians in West Darfur." *Human Rights Watch*.

¹⁸ (October 3, 2017). "Chronology of Events." *Security Council Report*.

- (2011) Both JEM and Janjaweed accused of ongoing sexual violence. JEM and SLM/A accused of killing 12 in Kuala.¹⁹

Violence Locations:

- Gereida (2006)
- Saraf Jidad (2008)
- Aro Sharow IDP camp (2008)
- Korlungo (2008)
- West Darfur (2008)
- Kuala (2011)

Casualties:

- 44 (2008)
- 12 (2011)

¹⁹ (March 26, 2011). "Sudan: Darfur: Rape as a Weapon of War: Sexual Violence and its Consequences." *Amnesty International*.

Janjaweed (2000-2015)

Rivalry #3: SLM/A – MM (2006-2007)

Denouncement: (2006)

Notes: SLM/A-MM→Janjaweed (2006)

- (2006) Minni Minnawi accused Janjaweed of looting a cattle market in El Fasher and threatened to pull out of the peace agreement.²⁰

Threat: (2006)

Notes: SLM/A-MM→Janjaweed (2006)

- (2006) Minni Minnawi threatened to pull out of the peace agreement and resume struggle.²¹

Violence: (2006-2007)

Notes: Symmetric (2006-2008)

- (2006) Janjaweed was accused of attacking and raiding a cattle market in El Fasher, as well as other attacks in 2006.²²
- (2007) SLM/A-MM and Janjaweed clashed around Muhajirya in October 2007, killing 24.²³

²⁰ (December 7, 2006). "AU Extends Darfur Peacekeeping Mandate; Other DEvelopments." *Facts on File World News Digest*.

²¹ (December 7, 2006). "AU Extends Darfur Peacekeeping Mandate; Other DEvelopments." *Facts on File World News Digest*.

²² (December 7, 2006). "AU Extends Darfur Peacekeeping Mandate; Other DEvelopments." *Facts on File World News Digest*.

²³ (October 9, 2007). "Roundup:24 Killed After Sudan Government." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

Janjaweed (2000-2015)

Rivalry #4: SLM/A – Unity (2007-2008)

Denouncement: (2008)

Notes: SLM/A-Unity→Janjaweed (2008)

- (2008) Since the beginning of the conflict SLM/A and SLM/A-Unity have accused Janjaweed of attacking Darfur civilians.²⁴

Violence: (2008)

Notes: Symmetric (2008)

- SLA-Unity clashed with Janjaweed near Muhajariya between October 13 and 17, 2008.²⁵

Violence Locations:

- Muhajariya (2008)

Casualties:

- 16+ (2008)

²⁴ (August 13, 2008). “Rebels Say Sudan in New Offensive in North Darfur.” *Associated Press*.

²⁵ (October 24, 2008). “New Darfur Attacks Show Civilians Still at Risk.” *Targeted News Service*.

Janjaweed (2000-2015)

Rivalry #5: National Redemption Front (NRF) (2006)

Denouncement: (2006)

Notes: Symmetric (2006)

- (2006) Janjaweed accused NRF of looting civilians, while the NRF accused Janjaweed and government forces of attacking civilians in Jabel Moun and Kulkul near El Fasher.²⁶

Violence: (2006)

Notes: Symmetric (2006)

- (2006) Janjaweed and NRF clashed Jabel Moun and Kulkul near El Fasher, forcing hundreds of civilians to flee.²⁷

²⁶ (July 30, 2006). "Sudan Attacks Darfur Rebels." *The Washington Post*.

²⁷ (July 30, 2006). "Sudan Attacks Darfur Rebels." *The Washington Post*.

Janjaweed (2000-2015)

Rivalry #6: Sudan Revolutionary Front (SRF) (2011-2015)

Violence: (2014)

Notes: Symmetric (2014)

- (2014) Janjaweed made “aggressive advances” on SRF forces and civilians around the Nuba Mountains in June 2014. Clashes ensued.²⁸

²⁸ (November 3, 2014). “On Nuba’s Frontlines.” *Africa News*.

Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) (2001-2015)

Rivalry #1: SLM/A – MM (2006-2007)

Denouncement: (2006)

Notes: SLM/A→SLM/A-MM (2006)

- SLM/A denounced the Darfur Peace Agreement and SLM/A-MM's participation in the agreement.²⁹

²⁹ (May 9, 2006). "SLM/A Faction Denounces Darfur Peace Agreement." *Africa News*.

Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) (2001-2015)

Rivalry #2: Popular Defence Forces (PDF) (1990-2007)

Violence: (2006)

Notes: Symmetric (2006)

- (2006) Janjaweed and PDF attacked Gereida in April 2006. Gereida area was controlled by SLM/A and JEM.³⁰

Violence Locations:

- Gereida (2006)

³⁰ (2006). "Volume 43 #4." *ARB*.

SLM/A-MM (2006-2007)

Rivalry #1: National Redemption Front (NRF) (2006)

Violence: (2006)

Notes: Symmetric (2006)

- (2006) NRF and SLM/A-MM clashed in August 2006.³¹

³¹ (August 1, 2006). "Increased Attacks Against Civilians Reported in North Darfur State." *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*.

SLM/A- Unity (2007-2008)

Rivalry #1: Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) (2006-2013)

Denouncement: (2007)

Notes: Symmetric (2007)

- (2007) SLA-Unity accused JEM of a local attack, which AU peacekeepers had blamed on SLA-Unity. JEM denied the allegations and condemned the attack.³²

³² (October 8, 2007). "Darfur Town Razed After Peacekeeper Raid." *Associated Press*.

Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) (2006-2013)

Rivalry #1: Popular Defence Forces (PDF) (1990-2007)

Violence: (2006)

Notes: PDF→JEM (2006)

- (2006) Janjaweed and PDF attacked Gereida in April 2006. Gereida area was controlled by SLM/A and JEM.³³

Violence Locations:

- Gereida (2006)

³³ (2006). "Volume 43 #4." *ARB*.

Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) (1990-2011)

Rivalry #1: South Sudan Defense Forces (SSDF) (1997-2006)

Violence: (1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2006)

Notes: SPLM/A→SSDF (1997, 1998, 2002); SSDF→SPLM/A (2000); Symmetric (2006)

- (1997) SPLA attacked government and SSDF forces in Nuba Mountains and around Juba in 1997.³⁴
- (1998, 2002) SSDF supported the government in fending off SPLA attack against Torit in 1998 and recapturing the town in 2002.³⁵
- (2000) SSDF supported an attempt to recapture Raga and Daym Zubayr from SPLA in 2000.³⁶
- (2006) Fighting between the SPLA and SSDF resulted in 250 civilian and military deaths in 2006.³⁷

Violence Locations:

- Nuba Mountains and Juba (1997)
- Torit (1998, 2002)
- Raga and Daym Zubayr (2000)

Casualties:

- 250 (2006)

³⁴ (1997). "Volume 34 #7). *ARB*.

³⁵ (2003). "Sudan, Oil, and Human Rights." *Human Rights Watch*.

³⁶ (2000). "Volume 37 #6). *ARB*.

³⁷ (March 8, 2007). "Extension of the Designation of Sudan for Temporary Protected Status; Automatic Extension of Employment Authorization Documentation for Sudanese TPS Beneficiaries." *Homeland Security Department Documents and Publications*.

Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) (1990-2011)

Rivalry #2: Anyanya II (1990-1993)

Violence: (1990-1993)

Notes: Symmetric (1990-1993)

- (1990-1993) SPLA fought ongoing battles in early 1990s against Anyanya II.³⁸

³⁸ (November 24, 2003). "Sudan, Oil, and Human Rights." *Human Rights Watch*.

Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) (1990-2011)

Rivalry #3: Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) (1997-2011)

Denouncement: (2001)

Notes: SPLM/A→LRA (2001)

- (2001) SPLM/A blamed a 2001 attack in Torit County (Eastern Equatoria) on the government of Sudan and its militias, primarily the EDF and the LRA.³⁹

Violence: (1997-1998, 2002-2003)

Notes: SPLM/A→LRA (1997); LRA→SPLM/A (2003); Symmetric (1998, 2002)

- (1997) SPLM/A overran main LRA base in 1997, forcing Joseph Kony to flee to Juba.⁴⁰
- (1998) Fighting between the two groups continued throughout 1998.⁴¹
- (2002) SPLM/A and LRA fought over Torit throughout 2002.⁴²
- (2003) The LRA killed or injured hundreds of civilians in a variety of attacks. It was suspected that specific villages and IDP camps were targeted because they were harboring SPLM/A members.⁴³

³⁹ (May 10, 2001). "Sudan; Government, Rebels Blame Each Other for Red Cross Attack." *Africa News*.

⁴⁰ (1997). "Volume 34 #4). *ARB*.

⁴¹ (1998). "Volume 35 #10). *ARB*.

⁴² (July 2003). "Abducted and Abused: Renewed Conflict in Northern Uganda." *Human Rights Watch*.

⁴³ (July 2003). "Abducted and Abused: Renewed Conflict in Northern Uganda." *Human Rights Watch*.

Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A)

(1990-2011)

Rivalry #4: SSLM/A (2002-2012)

Denouncement: (2010-2011)

Notes: SSLM/A→SPLM/A (2010); Symmetric (2011)

- (2010) In April, the SSLM/A denounced SPLM/A's claim of victory in local elections in 2010.⁴⁴
- (2011) SPLM/A accused SSLM/A in November 2011 of an attack on a military base in Upper Nile.⁴⁵
- (2011) SSLM/A claimed that the UN mission was lending vehicles to SPLM/A and assisting them in offensive attacks. SSLM/A also accused SPLM/A of using human shields.⁴⁶
- (2011) SSLM/A accused SPLM/A of killing 84 people in Nyadiet – SPLM/A denied the accusations and counter claimed that the SSLM/A had attacked Rubnyagai and captured 60 soldiers.⁴⁷

Threat: (2011)

Notes: SSLM/A→SPLM/A (2011)

- (2011) The SSLM/A gave UN forces a week to evacuate and they promised to "violently resist the regime of Governor Deng Taban," who was accused of using SPLM/A soldiers to attack locals.⁴⁸

Violence: (2011-2012)

Notes: Symmetric (2011)

⁴⁴ (April 13, 2011). "New Rebel Group Calls For Juba Coup." *Africa News*.

⁴⁵ (November 13, 2011). "Unity State Rebels Accusations of North Sudan Backing." *Africa News*.

⁴⁶ (November 3, 2011). "Local Rebels Claim Clash Victory and Allege UN Involvement." *Africa News*.

⁴⁷ (May 10, 2011). "SPLA Kill 84 in Attacks on Gatdet's Militia in Unity State." *Africa News*.

⁴⁸ (2011). *Africa News*.

- (2011) SPLM/A accused SSLM/A in November 2011 of an attack on a military base in Upper Nile, and SSLM/A forces said SPLM/A had fled the area.⁴⁹
- (2011) SSLM/A claimed that the UN mission was lending vehicles to SPLM/A and assisting them in offensive attacks. SSLM/A also accused SPLM/A of using human shields.⁵⁰
- (2011) SSLM/A accused SPLM/A of killing 84 people in Nyadiet – SPLM/A denied the accusations and counter claimed that the SSLM/A had attacked Rubnyagai and captured 60 soldiers.⁵¹
- (2011) In early 2011, at least 9 people were killed when SSLM/A attacked in Mayom County.⁵²
- (2011) 75 people were killed when SSLM/A attacked in Mayom County. SSLM/A was also accused of laying an anti-tank mine in 2011 that killed 20 people.⁵³
- (2011) SSLM/A forces attacked a position just outside the capital of Bentiu.⁵⁴
- (2011) SSLM/A tried to take Nhialdiu Payam in November 2011, but failed, leading to the deaths of two militants.⁵⁵
- (2011) Eighty people were killed near Mayom when SSLM/A attacked in late 2011.⁵⁶
- (2011) Attacks around Juba in June 2011 led to the deaths of 195 soldiers.⁵⁷

Violence Locations:

- Upper Nile (2011)
- Nyadiet and Rubnyagai (2011)
- Mayom Country (2011)
- Bentiu (2011)
- Nhialdiu Payam (2011)

⁴⁹ (November 13, 2011). “Unity State Rebels Accusations of North Sudan Backing.” *Africa News*.

⁵⁰ (November 3, 2011). “Local Rebels Claim Clash Victory and Allege UN Involvement.” *Africa News*.

⁵¹ (May 10, 2011). “SPLA Kill 84 in Attacks on Gatdet’s Militia in Unity State.” *Africa News*.

⁵² (May 20, 2011). “Nine Killed And Over 80 Wounded in Clash Between SPLA And Gatdet’s Militia.” *Africa News*.

⁵³ (October 30, 2011). “SSLM/A Forces Are Advancing Towards Bentiu Town and Warrap State.” *Africa News*.

⁵⁴ (November 2, 2011). “South Sudan Rebels Say Battling Government Forces in Oil State.” *Reuters*.

⁵⁵ (November 9, 2011). “Four Rebels Surrender in Unity State as Landmine Fears Grow.” *Africa News*.

⁵⁶ (November 9, 2011). “Four Rebels Surrender in Unity State as Landmine Fears Grow.” *Sudan Tribune*.

⁵⁷ (June 28, 2011). “Rebels said planning attack on South Sudan capital 9 July.” *BBC*.

- Juba (2011)

Casualties:

- 84 (2011)
- 9 (2011)
- 95 (2011)
- 2 (2011)
- 80 (2011)
- 195 (2011)

Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) (1990-2011)

Rivalry #5: Equatoria Defence Force (EDF/Khartoum) (1996-2003)

Denouncement: (2001)

Notes: SPLM/A→EDF (2001)

- (2001) SPLM/A blamed a 2001 attack in Torit County (Eastern Equatoria) on the government of Sudan and its militias, primarily the EDF and the LRA.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ (May 10, 2001). "Sudan; Government, Rebels Blame Each Other for Red Cross Attack." *Africa News*.

Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) (1990-2011)

Rivalry #6: South Sudan Democratic Movement/Army (SSDM/A) (2010-2011)

Violence: (2011)

Notes: SPLM/A→SSDM (2011)

- SSDM's leader was killed by SPLM/A in December 2011.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ (December 26, 2011). "Sudan; SPLA Kill Church Goers in Jonglei, Pibor Attacked." *Sudan Tribune*.

Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) (1990-2011)

Rivalry #7: SPLM/A – United (1993-2004)

Denouncement: (1994)

Notes: Symmetric (1994)

- (1994) SPLM/A held a conference of rebel fighters with the primary purpose to counter a challenge from SPLA/-United.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ (1994). "Volume 31 #4." *ARB*.

Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) (1990-2011)

Rivalry #8: Popular Defence Forces (PDF) (1990-2007)

Violence: (2006)

Notes: PDF→SPLM/A (2006)

- (2006) Janjaweed and PDF attacked Gereida in April 2006. Gereida area was controlled by SLM/A and JEM.⁶¹

⁶¹ (2006). "Volume 43 #4." *ARB*.

Lord's Resistance Army (1997-2011)

Rivalry #1: Equatoria Defence Force (EDF/Khartoum) (1996-2003)

Violence: (2003)

Notes: Symmetric (2003)

- (2003) It was suspected that the LRA targeted specific villages and IDP camps because they were harboring EDF members.⁶²
- (2003) Fighting continued throughout 2003 between the two groups in southern Torit, Katire and Imila.⁶³

⁶² (July 2003). "Abducted and Abused Renewed War in Northern Uganda." *Human Rights Watch*.

⁶³ (2003). "Volume 40 #10). *ARB*.

South Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SSLM/A) (2002-2012)

Rivalry #1: SPLM/A – North (2012-2015)

Denouncement: (2012)

Notes: SSLM/A→SPLM/A North (2012)

- (2012) SSLM/A blamed a March 2012 attack in border area on SPLM/A and SPLM/A-North.⁶⁴

Violence: (2012)

Notes: SPLM/A-North→SSLM/A (2012)

- (2012) SSLM/A blamed a March 2012 attack in border area on SPLM/A and SPLM/A-North.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ (March 27, 2012). “Sudan; S. Sudanese Rebels Claim Responsibility for Borderland Attack Juba Attributed to Khartoum.” *Africa News*.

⁶⁵ (March 27, 2012). “Sudan; S. Sudanese Rebels Claim Responsibility for Borderland Attack Juba Attributed to Khartoum.” *Africa News*.

Tajikistan

All Groups and Years:

UTO (United Tajik Opposition) (1992-1998)

Forces of Khudoberdiyev (1997-1998)

IMU (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan)(1990-2014)

PFT (Popular Front of Tajikistan) (1992-1992)

Forces of Mullo Abdullo (2000-2010)

JIG (Jihad Islamic Group) (2004-2004)

Popular Front (1992-1993)

United Tajik Opposition (UTO)

Rivalry #1: Popular Front of Tajikistan (PFT)

Violence

United Tajik Opposition (UTO) (1992-1998)

Rivalry #1: Popular Front of Tajikistan (PFT) (1992-1993)

Violence: (1992-1997)

Notes: Symmetric (1992-1997)

- (1992) The Popular Front fought against the United Tajik Opposition - a union of Islamic and democratic forces.¹
- (1992) The Ramit Gorge is adjacent to the Rasht district known for its support for the United Tajik Opposition (UTO), which fought against the Popular Front of Tajikistan in the 1992-1997 civil war.²
- (1992-1993) During the country's civil war of 1992-97, Badakhshan residents supported the United Tajik Opposition, the opponent of the Popular Front, which brought President Rahmon to power.³
- (1992-1993) The PFT were pitted against an array of opposition elements including Islamists, democrats and the United Tajik Opposition.⁴

¹ (August 1, 2012). "Popular Front of Tajikistan Won't Interfere in Developments in Badakhshan." *Russia & CIS General Newswire*.

² (September 14, 2015). "Newly Independent States." *Russia & CIS Military Daily*.

³ (September 17, 2015). "Tajik Leader Concerned Over Spillover of Afghan Violence." *BBC Monitoring Central Asia*.

⁴ (September 29, 2013). "Afghanistan: History, Demographics, Policy, and Post NATO Pullout." *ValueWalk*.

Thailand

All Groups and Years:

Barisan Revolusi Nasional (BRN) (2002-2013)

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA) (1995-2001)

Karen National Union (1997-2008)

Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO) (1992-2015)

Runda Kumpulan Kecil (RKK) (2008-2015)

United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (2010-2015)

Village Defence Volunteers (1990-2007)

War on Drugs Death Squad (2003)

Anti-Muslim Death Squad (2004-2006)

Rangers (1990-2007)

Patani Insurgents (UCDP) (2003-2015)

Patani Insurgents

Rivalry #1: Rangers

Violence

Rivalry #2: Village Defence Volunteers

Violence

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA)

Rivalry #1: Karen National Union (KNU)

Denouncement

Threat

Violence

Rivalry #2: Rangers

Violence

Pattani United Liberation Organisation (PULO)

Rivalry #1: Rangers

Violence

Rivalry #2: Village Defense Volunteers

Denouncement

Patani Insurgents (2003-2015)

Rivalry #1: Rangers (1990-2007)

Violence: (2005-2007)

Notes: Patani Insurgents→Rangers (2005); Symmetric (2006, 2007)

- (2005) Suspected insurgents shot dead five rangers and severely injured another in Narathiwat, while militants in Yala beheaded a villager in what appeared to be a revenge attack aimed at authorities.¹
- (2006) An insurgent group clashed with a unit of military rangers near a railroad in Yala's Muang district.²
- (2006) Islamic militants were suspected in both attacks.³
- (2007) Suspected insurgents opened fire at a ranger base in Songkhla injuring a ranger.⁴
- (2007) Army Rangers are still in the process of transferring the bodies of insurgents killed in a clash with authorities on March 2.⁵
- (2007) Insurgents bombed an Army Ranger unit in Yala province, causing critical injuries to 1 Ranger.⁶
- (2007) Four Army rangers on patrol were wounded after militants detonated a bomb in Ruso district in Narathiwat province.⁷
- (2007) Suspected Muslim insurgents fatally shot two paramilitary rangers.⁸
- (2007) Two Thai Army rangers were wounded after a bomb set by insurgents exploded.⁹

¹ (October 6, 2005). "Five Rangers Killed, Thaksin Delays Visit." *The Nation*.

² (December 15, 2006). "Thailand: Southern Violence Continues as Separatist Group Accuse Government of Killing Innocent Residents." *Thai News Service*.

³ (October 2, 2006). "Village headman shot dead, two rangers hit by blast in south Thailand." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

⁴ (March 17, 2007). "Insurgents Attack Ranger Camp in The South, One Ranger Injured." *Xinhua News Service*.

⁵ (March 5, 2007). "Thailand: Narathiwat Governor Reports on Ranger Battle Against Insurgents." *Thai News Service*.

⁶ (2007). "Thailand/U.S.A: US-Based Civil Rights Group Say Thailand's Use of Militias in South Endangers Citizens." *Thai News Service*.

⁷ (June 4, 2007). "Thailand: Pattani Mosque Rally Continues, Fresh Violence in Narathiwat." *Thai News Service*.

⁸ (June 24, 2007). "Two Paramilitary Rangers Shot Dead and Burned in Thailand's Restive South." *Associated Press International*.

⁹ (April 13, 2007). "Thailand: Two Rangers Wounded, School burned in Restive South." *Thai News Service*.

- (2007) Authorities inspected the scene of an explosion which left 11 rangers dead and one other injured.¹⁰
- (2007) Three volunteer rangers were ambushed by suspected insurgents in Pattani's Saiburi district.¹¹
- (2007) Eight suspected militants were killed in a clash with army rangers in Narathiwat.¹²

Violence Location:

- Narathiwat (2005)
- Yala province (2005, 2006)
- Songkhla province (2007)
- Yala province (2007)
- Narathiwat (2007)
- Saiburi district (2007)

Casualties:

- 6 (2005)
- 1 (2007)
- 2 (2007)
- 11 (2007)
- 8 (2007)

¹⁰ (June 2, 2007). "Thai Junta Monitoring Protest at Pattani Mosque; Military Sets Up Checkpoints." *BBC Asia Pacific - Political*.

¹¹ (September 26, 2007). "2 Killed, 2 Wounded in Thai South." *Xinhua General News Service*.

¹² (March 3, 2007). "Eight Killed in Clash in Thai South." *BBC Asia Pacific Political*.

Patani Insurgents (2003-2015)

Rivalry #2: Village Defence Volunteers (1990-2007)

Violence: (2006-2007)

Notes: Patani Insurgents→Village Defense Volunteers (2006, 2007)

- (2006) A village defense volunteer was shot dead in Narathiwat by militants.¹³
- (2006) A government-hired village defense volunteer was ambushed and shot to death by at least three drive-by shooters.¹⁴
- (2007) Islamic insurgents shot and killed a Muslim man, who was a village defence volunteer.¹⁵
- (2007) Insurgents shot dead a village defence volunteer and wounded a son of village headman in two separate ambushes.¹⁶

Violence Location:

- Narathiwat (2006)
- Yala (2006)

Casualties:

- 1 (2006)
- 1 (2006)
- 1 (2007)
- 1 (2007)

¹³ (August 28, 2006). "Village Defense Volunteer Shot Dead in Thailand." *Xinhua General News Service*.

¹⁴ (July 5, 2007). "Thai King Sponsors Funeral of First Female Ranger to Die in South." *Associated Press International*.

¹⁵ (January 1, 2007). "Islamic Insurgents Kill Muslim Defence Volunteer in Thai South - Police." *BBC Monitoring International Reports*.

¹⁶ (October 4, 2007). "Thailand: Insurgents Kill Village Defense Volunteer, Injure Another." *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*.

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA) (1995-2001)

Rivalry #1: Karen National Union (KNU) (1997-2008)

Denouncement: (1997)

Notes: KNU→DKBA (1997)

- (1997) DKBA fighters burned and looted two camps housing more than 10,000 Karen refugees. The assaults were condemned by the Karen National Union (KNU).¹⁷

Threat: (1998)

Notes: DKBA→KNU (1998)

- (1998) The DKBA has threatened to carry out more raids against refugee camps inside Thailand, provoking frightened refugees to pack bundles in preparation to flee.¹⁸

Violence: (1997-1998, 2000-2001)

Notes: DKBA→KNU (1997, 1998, 2000, 2001)

- (1997) DKBA fighters burned and looted two camps in Thailand housing more than 10,000 Karen refugees.¹⁹
- (1997) At least two people were killed when the DKBA attacked refugee camps. Another Karen refugee died in the blaze when the second camp was razed.²⁰
- (1997) 100 DKBA soldiers burned two refugee camps and left about 8,000 Karens homeless. The attackers killed two Karen refugees and one Thai merchant and engaged in firefights with Thai Border Patrol Police and members of a rival Karen faction in which at least six combatants were killed.²¹
- (1998) The DKBA and Burmese troops are believed to have been behind several major cross-border raids on refugees loyal to the rival Karen National Union, which have left at least four people dead and thousands homeless.²²

¹⁷ (February 2, 1997). "Ethnic Karen Group in Burma Threatens Another Thai Refugee Camp." *Agence France Presse*.

¹⁸ (April 1, 1998). "Pro-Government Guerillas from Myanmar Raze Thai Border Village." *Associated Press International*.

¹⁹ (February 2, 1997). "Ethnic Karen Group in Burma Threatens Another Thai Refugee Camp." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁰ (January 29, 1997). "Two Killed as Karan Refugee Camps in Thailand Razed by Renegades." *Agence France Presse*.

²¹ (January 30, 1997). "[No Headline in Original]" *United Press International*.

²² (March 29, 1998). "By Stephen Spencer, Diplomatic Correspondent & Ron Corben in." *AAP Newsfeed*.

- (1998) DKBA insurgents have launched cross-border raids to burn down refugee camps housing civilians belonging to the KNU.²³
- (1998) 70 to 100 DKBA troops attacked a camp, killing three refugees, including a child, and setting fire to more than 1,000 dwellings.²⁴
- (1998) Sources said the five or six mortars which hit the camp's perimeter were fired by the DKBA, which is in conflict with the KNU.²⁵
- (2000) At least three ethnic Karens were killed and three others injured in a clash between the Myanmar military and an ethnic Karen guerrilla group. The Myanmar troops and the DKBA attacked a battalion of the KNU.²⁶
- (2001) The Myanmar army and the DKBA attacked the KNU stronghold. The rifle and mortar attack left a church, a hospital and some 20 houses in flames and cost both sides some 20 casualties.²⁷

Violence Location:

- Mae Sot (1997, 1998)
- Tak province (1998)
- Phop Phra (2000)
- Tak province (2001)

Casualties:

- 3 (1997)
- 9 (1997)
- 4 (1998)
- 3 (1998)
- 3 (2000)
- 20 (2001)

²³ (April 5, 1998). "Awkward Questions on the Thai-Burmese Border." *The Nation*.

²⁴ (March 13, 1998). "Thai Authorities Thrash Out Fate of Karen Refugees." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁵ (March 17, 1998). "Refugees Hurt in Attack on Second Camp." *Sydney Morning Herald*.

²⁶ (August 29, 2000). "Myanmar Troops Clash with Karen Rebels, Kill 3: Thai Source." *Japan Economic Newswire*.

²⁷ (July 18, 2001). "Over 300 Karen Refugees Flee Clash, Cross to Thailand." *Japan Economic Newswire*.

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA) (1995-2001)

Rivalry #2: Rangers (1990-2007)

Violence: (1997-1998)

Notes: Symmetric (1997, 1998)

- (1997) A Thai paramilitary ranger was killed and another seriously injured in a raid by DKBA guerillas from Burma.²⁸
- (1997) A ranger was killed and two others injured in a clash between a Thai military patrol and DKBA troops in Mae Hong Son's Mae Sarieng district.²⁹
- (1998) The DKBA fired mortars and machine-guns at a Thai Army ranger unit and a border-patrol police post in Tha Ta Fung village, Mae Sariang district. The Rangers returned fire in a two-hour gun battle, with the attackers burning down the security forces' buildings and the village, killing the official, injuring two civilians and taking three hostages before escaping back across the river into Burma.³⁰
- (1998) Thai security forces arrested six members of the DKBA after they illegally crossed into Thailand. Thai soldiers and rangers stumbled across the boatload of rebels during a patrol of the Salween river.³¹

Violence Location:

- Mae Hong Son province (1997)
- Mae Sariang district (1998)

Casualties:

- 1 (1997)
- 1 (1997)
- 1 (1998)

²⁸ (December 16, 1997). "Thai Ranger Killed in Cross-Border Raid from Burma." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁹ (December 17, 1997). "Thailand Sends 100 Troops to Myanmar Border." *Japan Economic Newswire*.

³⁰ (March 1, 1998). "Burmese Raiders in Attack on Village." *The Nation*.

³¹ (March 8, 1998). "Thai Forces Arrest Six Myanmar Rebel Intruders." *Agence France Presse*.

Pattani United Liberation Organisation (PULO) (1992-2015)

Rivalry #1: Rangers (1990-2007)

Violence: (1993-1995)

Notes: Symmetric (1993, 1995); Rangers→PULO (1994)

- (1993) The Ranger Operation Units 4101 and 4102 clashed with a band of 15 to 20 PULO in Narathiwat Province. A separatist was killed during the incident while the government side suffered no injuries or casualties.³²
- (1994) Thai army rangers killed a Muslim guerrilla during an operation against militant separatists. A squad of 30 rangers attacked a camp of the Pattani.³³
- (1994) A squad of 30 rangers attacked a camp of the PULO in a thick jungle in Narathiwat.³⁴
- (1995) The Rangers unit clashed with the PULO, which was composed of about seven people. A first class sergeant was seriously wounded.³⁵

Violence Location:

- Narathiwat Province (1993, 1994)

Casualties:

- 1 (1993)
- 1 (1994)
- 1 (1995)

³² (October 11, 1993). "Separatist Killed in Clash in Narathiwat." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

³³ (June 8, 1994). "Thai Troops Kill Separatist Rebel." *United Press International*.

³⁴ (June 8, 1994). "Thai troops kill separatist rebel." *United Press International*.

³⁵ (June 25, 1995). "Rebels: Rangers Clash with Southern Separatists." *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*.

Pattani United Liberation Organisation (PULO) (1992-2015)

Rivalry #2: Village Defense Volunteers (1990-2007)

Denouncement: (2006)

Notes: PULO→Village Defence Volunteers (2006)

- (2006) PULO said Thai security units on the ground had been quietly assisting some village defence volunteer units in killing "innocent" local Malay Muslim residents.³⁶
- (2006) PULO has accused the security forces and the village defence volunteers of carrying out target killings in the restive southern provinces.³⁷

³⁶ (December 14, 2006). "PULO Claims Thai Security Forces Target Killings." *Malaysia General News*.

³⁷ (December 15, 2006). "No Sign Of Thai Refugees In Malaysia, Says Thai Foreign Ministry." *Malaysia General News*.

Uganda

All Groups and Years:

Uganda People's Army (1990-1992)

Lord's Resistance Army (1990-2015)

Allied Democratic Forces (1996-2015)

WNBF (1996-1996)

UNRF II (1997-1997)

Protection Vigilantes (2000-2000)

Kiboko Squad (2007-2007)

Kalangala Action Plan (2001-2007)

Rhino (Amuka) Defence Force (2003-2006)

Arrow militia (2003-2007)

Local Defence Units (1987-2007)

Karamojong Vigilante (1995-2000)

Al-Shabaab (2009-2015)

Sudan People's Liberation Army (2008-2010)

Lord's Resistance Army

Rivalry #1: Amuka/Rhino Defence Force

Violence

Rivalry #2: Arrow Militia

Violence

Rivalry #3: Local Defence Unit(s)

Violence

Rivalry #4: Karamojong Vigilantes

Violence

Allied Democratic Forces

Rivalry #1: Local Defence Unit

Violence

WNBF

Rivalry #1: Local Defence Unit

Violence

Lord's Resistance Army (1990-2015)

General Group Notes: Catholic/Christian rebel group

Rivalry #1: Amuka/Rhino Defence Force

Violence: (2003-2005)

Notes: Amuka→LRA (2003); LRA→Amuka (2004, 2005)

- (2003) Kony's LRA rebels are facing an unprecedented hostile environment. In Teso the people set up the Arrow Group to curb rebel attacks and infiltration into the region. Now the Langi have mooted the Amuka (Rhino) defence voluntary force to fight the rebels.¹
- (2003) Museveni hailed the people in the eastern region for mobilizing voluntary forces to fight the LRA, saying that the Arrow Group from Teso and the Rhino Defense Unit from Lango would be equipped to support the UPDF to wipe out the rebels.²
- (2003) The UPDF have begun arming the Rhino defence unit, a Lango voluntary group, to fight Kony's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels.³
- (2004) The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels killed scores of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in a camp near the northern town of Lira on 5 February gained access to the camp by pretending to be government soldiers and militias. Some members of Amuka clashed with the LRA at the scene of the attack. 52 people were killed in the attack.⁴
- (2004) The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels killed at least 200 IDPs on Saturday afternoon. The attack occurred when about 300 LRA rebels, dressed like regular Ugandan army soldiers and armed with assault rifles and artillery, attacked the camp and overpowered the local Amuka militia posted there to protect it. The estimate of the dead that we have is now over 200.⁵

¹ (August 12, 2003). "Uganda; A People's War." *Africa News*.

² (August 18, 2003). "Ugandan Army Strengthened: President." *Xinhua General News Service*.

³ (August 14, 2003). "Uganda: UPDF Arms Langi." *Africa News*.

⁴ (February 9, 2004). "Uganda: LRA Duped Their Way Into IDP Camp." *Africa News*.

⁵ (February 23, 2004). "Uganda: IDPs Flee Camp After Attack, Toll Reported at 213." *Africa News*.

- (2004) Maj. Bantariza put the number of the dead at 80 civilians and two Amuka militia members. He said the army was yet to establish the number of the [LRA] rebels who attacked the camp.⁶
- (2005) LRA rebels attacked an auxiliary detachment of the Amuka local militia, killing two and injuring several others including civilians in Apac district.⁷
- (2005) The LRA disrupted the immunisation exercise against polio and measles in Ngai sub-county in Apac district. The LRA rebels attacked an Amuka local militia detachment, killing three and injuring nine civilians. Nine people were injured, including a child who later died at the health centre.⁸

Violence Locations:

- Obalanga sub county (2003)
- Abia camp, 28km NW of Lira (2004)
- Barlonyo camp, 26 km N of Lira (2004)
- Ogur sub-county, Erute North (2004)
- Apac district (2005)
- Ngai sub-county in Apac district (2005)

Casualties:

- 52 (2004)
- 213 (2004)
- 82 (204)
- 2 (2005)
- 3 (2005)

⁶ (February 23, 2004). "Uganda; Rebels Massacre 192 in Lira Camp." *Africa News*.

⁷ (February 28, 2005). "Ugandan Army Kills 11 Rebels in the North." *Xinhua General News Service*.

⁸ (March 2, 2005). "Uganda: LRA Rebels Disrupt Vaccination." *Africa News*.

Lord's Resistance Army (1990-2015)

Rivalry #2: Arrow Militia

Violence: (2003-2005)

Notes: Symmetric (2003); LRA→Arrow Militia (2005)

- (2003) LRA rebels ambushed Ecweru's car but some Arrow boys with only three guns fought off the rebels.⁹
- (2003) At Agonga village on September 3, three Arrow boys confronted 30 LRA rebels and killed three of them, injured many and scattered others. After the frustration from Arrow boys, the rebels burnt Alito IDP camps and villages of Amatilong and Amare. The rebels have killed at least 30 Arrow boys.¹⁰
- (2003) Six members of the Arrow militia group and five civilians were killed when the thugs attacked Ecweru's detachment at Olekai in Asamuk sub-county on Saturday.¹¹
- (2003) LRA guerillas raided the Odudui trading centre in Soroti district, killing people with machetes and guns. They killed 11 civilians and four Arrow Boys (government guards). Sixteen others were injured seriously.¹²
- (2005) The head of the Arrow Boys in Teso, Mr Musa Ecweru, blamed the late Wednesday attack on negligence by local UPDF commanders: "The LRA attack would not have taken place if it were not because of a hopeless bunch of UPDF commanders in this place." He said the rebels had attacked and burnt 30 houses before being repulsed by the Arrow Boys. But the army dismissed Ecweru's claims that the LRA had carried out the attack."¹³

Violence Locations:

- Obalanga Sub County (2003)
- Soroti district (2003)
- Katakwi district (2003)

⁹ (September 21, 2003). "Uganda: Arrow Group is Effective, but What is Keeping Kony in Teso?" *Africa News*.

¹⁰ (September 21, 2003). "Uganda: Arrow Group is Effective, but What is Keeping Kony in Teso?" *Africa News*.

¹¹ (September 28, 2003). "11 Killed in Rebel Attack in Northeastern Uganda." *Agence France Presse*.

¹² (October 9, 2003). "Ugandan Rebels Massacre 16 People." *Dutch Presse-Agentur*.

¹³ (October 1, 2005). "Uganda; Teso Attacked." *Africa News*.

- Teso, Amuria District (2005)

Casualties:

- 57 (2003)

Lord's Resistance Army (1990-2015)

Rivalry #3: Local Defence Unit(s)

Violence: (1994-1996, 2002-2004)

Notes: Local Defence Unit→LRA (1994); LRA→Local Defence Unit (2002, 2003, 2004); Symmetric (1996)

- (1994) Four LRA rebels were killed when a local defense unit attacked their camp at Omer river bank in Gulu district, northern Uganda last week.¹⁴
- (1996) On October 9, 1996, the anniversary of Uganda's independence, an armed mob of LRA rebels broke into a school and kidnapped 152 female students from their beds. The next afternoon, while walking with the children, they stumbled into a local defence militia. Shots were fired and everyone scattered.¹⁵
- (2002) 300 LRA rebels attacked a Local Defence Unit detachment in Kitgum District, and kidnapped around 100 people. Four people, two civilians and two soldiers, were reportedly killed in the attack.¹⁶
- (2002) One boy of seventeen told an organization working with children in northern Uganda of being abducted by the LRA on the night of August 13, 2002. He witnessed the execution of two government local defense men, who were killed with an axe and panga (long knife).¹⁷
- (2002) 300 rebels of the Lord Resistance Army launched an attack on a local defense unit detachment in northern Uganda, killing two civilians.¹⁸
- (2003) The LRA attacked Obalanga trading center in Katakwi, killing a member of the local defense unit and three civilians.¹⁹

¹⁴ (December 21, 1994). "Four Rebels Killed in Northern Uganda." Xinhua News Agency.

¹⁵ (June 15, 1998.) "Waiting for a Miracle: In Uganda, a rebel army forces children to fight its war. As Christina Spencer reports, some people are fighting back." *The Ottawa Citizen*.

¹⁶ (March 4, 2002). "Uganda: Army Blames Criminal LRA Splinter for Gulu Attack." *Africa News*.

¹⁷ (October 29, 2002). "LRA Conflict in Northern Uganda and Southern Sudan." *HRW*.

¹⁸ (February 25, 2002). "Two Civilians Killed in Rebel Attack in Northern Uganda." *Xinhua General News Service*.

¹⁹ (June 17, 2003). "Four people killed by rebels in northeastern Uganda." *Xinhua General News Service*.

- (2003) 11 civilians were killed and 15 others injured on Thursday when LRA rebels attacked a local defense unit at Odudui in Soroti district.²⁰
- (2003) LRA rebels killed seven local defense unit members in the eastern Ugandan district of Kaberamaido.²¹
- (2004) Ten people, including three Local Defence Unit personnel were reported killed in two separate attacks by the LRA rebels at Koch Ongako internally displaced people's camp on Tuesday.²²

Violence Locations:

- Gulu district (1994)
- Aboke (1996)
- Lamwo county (2002)
- Northern Uganda (2002)
- Katakwi district (2003)
- Soroti district (2003)
- Kaberamaido district (2003)
- Koch Ongako IDPs camp (2004)

Casualties:

- 4 (1994)
- 8 (1996)
- 8 (2002)
- 19 (2003)
- 10 (2004)

²⁰ (October 10, 2003). "11 killed, 15 injured in rebel attack on eastern Uganda." *Xinhua General News Service*.

²¹ (December 2, 2003). "LRA rebels kill seven people in eastern Uganda." *Xinhua General News Service*.

²² (February 7, 2004). "Uganda; Kony Rebels Kill 7 IDPs in Gulu." *Africa News*.

Lord's Resistance Army (1990-2015)

Rivalry #4: Karamojong Vigilantes

Violence: (1998)

Notes: LRA→Karamojong Vigilantes (1998)

- (1998) More than 100 LRA rebels attacked villages in northeastern Uganda, killed three people and abducted 50 others, before looting a Roman Catholic mission and its health centre. The dawn attack left many wounded, the Monitor said, adding that Ugandan troops and armed Karamojong warriors were pursuing the rebels in an attempt to free the abductees.”²³

Violence Locations:

- Morulem village, Karamjoa, Kotido (1998)

Casualties:

- 3 (1998)

²³ (December 31, 1998). “LRA rebels kill three, abduct 50 in northeastern Uganda.” *Agence France Presse*.

Allied Democratic Forces (1996-2015)

General Group Notes: Muslim youths who want an Islamic state in Uganda (Islamist). Active in west Uganda.

Rivalry #1: Local Defence Unit

Violence: (1997-1999)

Notes: Symmetric (1997); ADF→Local Defence Unit (1998, 1999)

- (1997) The government troops and some local defense units, were involved in the operation in the kampasa mountain area. The battle in kampasa was regarded by military sources as the last battle with the ADF rebels.²⁴
- (1997) The ADF rebels attacked a local Defence Unit post in Kabarole last week, killing one man. Landmines planted by the rebels also killed one civilian and injured three others, officials said.²⁵
- (1998) Six people, two of them UPDF soldiers and a local defence unit officer, were killed by ADF rebels in an evening attack on a densely populated displaced people's camp in Bundibugyo.²⁶
- (1999) ADF rebels attacked a UPDF position in Mughina village killing two local defence unit soldiers and injuring two others.²⁷
- (1999) The Allied Democratic Forces rebels struck small barracks at Butama, Kabango, Ndugutu, Ngite and Kanyamirima. 12 people died during the attacks including 10 ADF rebels, a local defense unit official, and a civilian.²⁸

Violence Locations:

- Kabarole (1997)
- Kampasa (1997)
- Bundibugyo (1998)
- Mughina village (1999)

²⁴ (January 11, 1997). "Ugandan army uproots rebels in Kasese." *Xinhua News Agency*.

²⁵ (February 3, 1997). "Ugandan Army Kills 2 in Attack on Rebel HQ Camp: Official." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁶ (June 8, 1998). "Uganda: ADF Kill Six in Camp for Displaced." *Africa News*.

²⁷ (January 28, 1999). "Ugandan Army Executes Five Suspected Rebels: Police." *Agence France Presse*.

²⁸ (December 10, 1999). "12 Dead as Ugandan Rebels Strike Five Military Installations." *Agence France Presse*.

Casualties:

- 2 (1997)
- 6 (1998)
- 14 (1999)

WNBF (1996-1996)

General Group Notes: WNBF is pro-Amin.

Rivalry #1: Local Defence Unit

Violence: (1996)

Notes: Local Defence Unit→WNBF (1996)

- (1996) The Ugandan government, backed by local defence units, attacked a group of about 500 WNBF rebels in the forested hills in the Arua area of northwestern Uganda.²⁹

Violence Locations:

- Arua (1996)

²⁹ (September 23, 1996). "Government Copters Attack Rebels in N. Uganda." *Xinhua News Agency*.

